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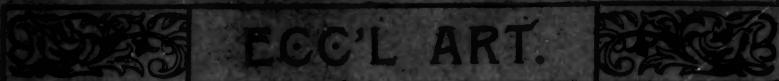
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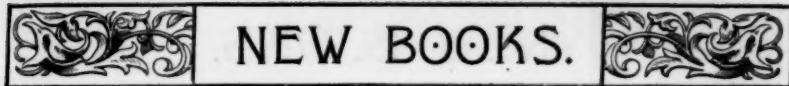
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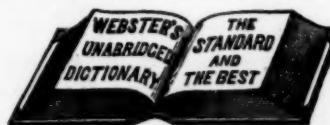
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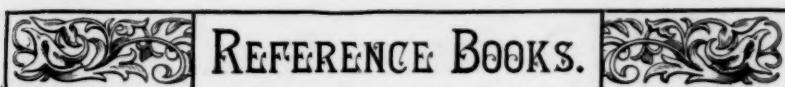
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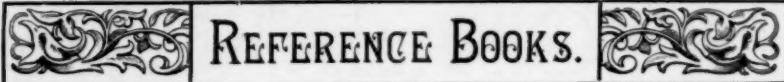
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July · and · October ·
Edited · by · Henry · Mayon · Baum
New · York ·

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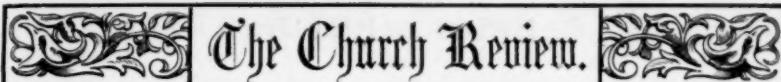
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A prominent layman not long since remarked, in connection with the library edition of the CHURCH REVIEW, that if a file was kept in each parish, accessible to the members of the congregation, it would be of the greatest possible value. He had recently been invited to lecture on some Church topic in a neighboring parish, the discussion of which proved of great interest to the members of the congregation. This subject had been thoroughly discussed by prominent writers in the CHURCH REVIEW; and if there had been a file of the REVIEW in the parish library, those interested in the subject would have been able to inform themselves on the different phases of the question.

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The January issue of each year contains full indexes to the volumes of the previous year, so that reference may at once be made to any topic treated or publication reviewed. For example, the January issue of 1890 contains twenty-five pages of indexes, divided as follows: I. Contributors; II. Publications reviewed; III. General topics treated; IV. Books recommended for parish and Sunday School libraries.

The chief object of the REVIEW is to instruct the laity in matters concerning the existence and work of the Church in the world, and therefore they should pay the subscription. The following plan has been found to work successfully in both city and country parishes: in the case of introducing the REVIEW for the first time into a parish, a copy of the January number — to show the great scope and character of the work — is sent to the rector of the parish or superintendent of the Sunday School, and with it a small subscription blank and a handsomely illustrated volume from the celebrated *Zigzag Journeys in Europe and Other Lands*. This volume is to be given to the boy who secures the subscription in small amounts from members of the congregation. The subscribers to the volume form a *Church Review Reading Club*, the members of which will be kept informed of the contents of the REVIEW by the *Church Review Kalendar*, which will be issued monthly, beginning with June. This kalendar will be an eight-page sheet, size of page eight by twelve inches. On the first page will be the kalendar for the month, giving the Daily Lessons, Holy Days, Saints' Days, Ecclesiastical Colors, etc.; and on the following pages, historical notes on the kalendar and current news of the Church, etc.

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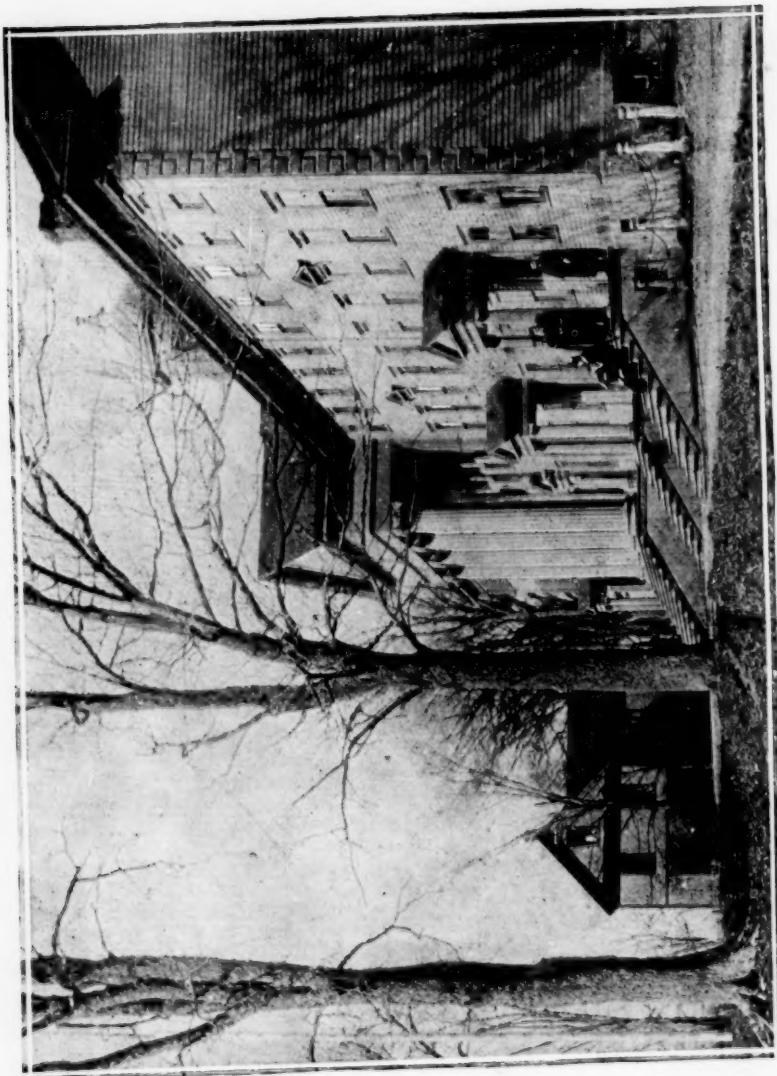
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THE

Church Review

FOUNDED 1848

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Preface.

LETTERS of congratulation have been received from all parts of the country on the opening of the CHURCH REVIEW to the discussion of Christian Reunion. General satisfaction has been expressed at the knowledge the distinguished writers in our last volume have given the public regarding the status of Church Reunion from the standpoint of the prominent bodies they represent. The result cannot fail of a careful examination of the points of disagreement, as well as of devout thankfulness over the great essential points upon which we are agreed.

Owing to the volume for April being sent out late, there was not time for the articles in reply to those on Christian Reunion to be written for the present issue, and they will therefore appear in the October issue.

The reply will form the most complete statement of the Church's position that has ever been made within the limits of a single volume. The prominence of the Bishops who have agreed to write will command the thoughtful attention of the English-speaking race throughout the world. Besides the articles by the Bishops, there will be several others by distinguished Professors in our theological schools and colleges, showing what the Church holds and teaches as essential. The volume will be one to be read and studied by every Churchman, and kept at his right hand for constant reference. We have not invited to the discussion partisan, but conservative leaders in the Church. We can assure our readers that they will have a rare treat in the volume for October.

We have given an unusual amount of space to the Historical Monograph on King's College, for which a word of explanation is needed. It is our intention to give in the REVIEW the history

of the Church educational institutions of North America, devoting a chapter of about forty pages to each one. As the Centenary Encænia of the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, was to take place in June, and her history was closely identified with the Church in the United States, it seemed to us due the Churchmen of Nova Scotia that we should begin our history with King's College. We found in Mr. Hind a most competent historian; and as he placed before us the historical facts so full of interest to all Churchmen, we could not deny the subject the space it needed. This must be our apology for the large amount of space devoted to King's College. The Board of Governors, by granting the well-earned honorary degree of D. C. L. to Mr. Hind, honored themselves, for it has not often been our pleasure to bring before our readers so satisfactory a piece of literary work.

A correspondent of one of our Church papers, in writing of the Encænia, well expresses what we had in view in the preparation and publication of this monograph: —

One of the distinguished Governors of King's, Henry Youle Hind, M. A., D. C. L., an author and historian of repute, has issued a volume of great typographical beauty giving the annals of King's for a hundred years. Giving, as this work does, the story of Seabury's interest and participation in the founding both of the See of Nova Scotia and the college at Windsor, the volume is one of deep interest to Americans as well as to 'Kingsmen' and the Church people of the Dominion. The knowledge of the interesting facts given in this timely and valuable work will serve to bind more closely together the two great Churches of the Anglican Communion on this Continent. United as we are in our past history and in our remembrances of common benefactors on this side of the ocean, as well as owing our very existence to the dear Mother Church of England, the Church in the United States and the Church in the Dominion of Canada may well be one in sympathy and in successes, as well as in the unity of the Faith and the bond of peace. As one in heart and mind, each may stimulate the other to fresh devotion, and a deeper, truer holiness and zeal.

We had the edition of the Monograph, mentioned by the correspondent, reprinted from the plates of the CHURCH REVIEW, and presented it to King's College as our contribution to their celebration of a century of educational work. In 1887 Bishop Perry contributed to the CHURCH REVIEW a memoir of Nova Scotia's first Bishop,—Dr. Inglis. It was a great pleasure to see her present Bishop, so well and favorably known to American Churchmen, in the pulpit of Trinity Church, New York, during the late General Convention, by special invitation of Dr. Dix. Dr. Inglis had resigned the rectorship of Trinity Church for political reasons, and now, at the close of a century, his successor was there by invitation of the Rector, thus illustrating the bond of union binding together the Church and her children, and the fraternal amity of the two great nations.

Among other articles of great interest in this issue will be found that on Liturgical Colors. It is a very careful review of the subject, and clearly sets forth the feasibility as well as desirability of having a National use based on the general English use, which varies materially from that of the modern Roman. The article on the Origin and Significance of the Eastward Position is one of great merit and interest. Mr. Butler earned distinction a few years since in a work on the Temple. Mr. Noll's article on the Religious History of Mexico contains much of interest to the Church historian and general reader. Mrs. Price's article on Secular and Christian Education is a valuable contribution to the subject on which it treats. We shall make the subject of Christian Education one of great prominence in the REVIEW during 1891. President Potter has opened up the way for a profound and exhaustive discussion on Christian Education.

Considerable space is given to the review of books under general articles, and we intend to make this feature of the REVIEW still more prominent in the future. This is the real province of a review, and the highest usefulness to which it can attain.

The Ecclesiastical Register is omitted from the present issue, for the reason that, beginning with the next volume, the REVIEW will be mailed so as to be in the hands of subscribers on the first of the month of publication. In order to do this, we must close the Register on the middle of the preceding quarter. The October issue will therefore contain the Ecclesiastical Register from April 1 to August 15. Our subscribers have long urged this change, and we believe that it will materially advance the interests of the REVIEW.

HENRY MASON BAUM.

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THE

Church Review

VOLUME LVIII. ♫ JULY, 1890

Liturgical Colors.

On the English Liturgical Colors. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. London: Alabaster, Passmore, and Sons, MDCCCLXXXIX.

THIS is a reprint from the transactions of S. Paul's Ecclesiological Society. To many no doubt the question of Liturgical Colors may seem a mere matter of mint, anise, and cummin; but if so, the declaration concerning even these was, "These ought ye not to leave undone." When our blessed LORD blamed the Jews for omitting the weightier matters of the law, — judgment, mercy, and faith, — He did not for one moment sanction their neglect of the comparative trifle of tithing mint, anise, and cummin. We may apply that lesson to the Holy Eucharist; to omit the celebration of the sacred mysteries is omitting the weightier matter, — the duty that ought to be done. The neglect of the minutiae of Divine worship is the neglect of the small things which ought not to be left undone. Just as reverence may be described as "good manners" between man and GOD, so ritual may be said to be the etiquette between man and the King of kings.

It has been asserted that ritual is contrary to the genius of the Americans. Such a statement is amusing. Where will any people be found so fond of ritual, so addicted to symbolism, so pleased with the outward show, so eager to don a uniform, to wear a badge, to be distinguished by titles? Where outside of America will such processions with drawn swords and plumed hats be seen to wend through the streets, composed, not of giddy young men, but of staid, sober, gray-headed citizens? Any occasion that may be turned into "a demonstration" is

eagerly seized, processions by day or by night are organized, allegorical representations devised, and the sidewalk thronged with appreciative crowds. Every organization, club, guild, or society, no matter how small or insignificant, issues its badge or symbol; and few and far between are the men who pass us on the street without some such decoration or rosette. All our writers playfully satirize our fondness for titles,—a fondness not confined to the sterner sex, for the German custom of giving the husband's title to the wife has spread throughout the land. We have Colonels and Mrs. Colonels, Presidents and Mrs. Presidents, Bishops and Mrs. Bishops. Every little organization, be it even a sewing-circle, must have its president and vice-president, treasurer, secretary, assistant-secretary. The passion for office is as marked here, if not indeed more marked, than even in France or Germany. It is a matter of pride—and one that we boast of—that our men and women are better dressed than those of any other nation, and the passion for jewelry is certainly not on the decline yet, when even little children of four or five "sport" rings. Where else has the pomp and vanity of funeral trappings been carried to such an extent? Our cemeteries and graveyards rival those of the Old World in costliness of monuments. Our hotels, our offices, our Pullman cars, our steamboats, all testify to our love of show. Nor do the houses of our wealthy citizens lack adornment; even their stables, we are told, are finished in rosewood, marble, gold, silver, and nickel. The sects have not been slow to appreciate this love of show and parade. If they have receded doctrinally from the confessions of their forefathers, they have outstripped the Church by their æstheticism. Whatever upholstery could do to beautify their buildings has been done; they have had their walls tinted in the latest shades of æsthetic colors. Stained glass, mosaics, Gothic buildings with lofty spires, and bells within them, often delude the unwary into thinking he is wending his way to one of the Church's buildings. We read the other day in one of their papers that it was the correct thing to have the communion-table raised on a dais, with a piece of carved work in wood or stone behind it, or else some hangings of a suitable texture and color. The elaborate flower services where the minister is the only black object in bowers of loveliness, the processions of little girls veiled, or with garlands on their heads, and their white dresses relieved by red sashes,—

these and a thousand other such ritualistic practices evidence the strong love of our people for outward show and pomp.

To assert, then, that the American people are averse to ritual is as false as it is ludicrous. What, however, American people are averse to is doctrine. With the sects the elaboration of their services means lack of doctrine; with the Church it means increase of doctrine. Wherever there are "services of song" or "festive services" or "flower services," there the preacher is pretty sure to have left his Calvinism in his study. Wherever there are high celebrations, a stately ritual of the altar, an orderly procession,—in other words, a scrupulous care as to the rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the *Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*,—there we shall find that the doctrines of the Catholic Church are not left in the study, but preached in the pulpit. There is of course among our own people—clergy and laity—an eagerness to adopt and welcome anything that is pretty. Such alterations are sanctioned as long as they do not mean anything. A priest of the Church not long ago said to the writer: "I have candles; they are so pretty. Of course I have had to repeatedly tell my people they mean nothing,—just ornament, and a cheap ornament too." Another priest wrote: "We have the white vestments and lights, but I have never attributed any meaning to such things."

The ordinary devout layman of our communion is thus liable to have his peace disturbed by the man who does attribute a meaning, or by the man who does not attribute any meaning to ritual. The man who does not attribute any meaning is, to our mind, contemptible; his ritual is a hypocritical parade. For such we can only hope that laymen will ever make the path thorny, though, as our LORD promised, such a road is generally pleasant. The man who does attribute a meaning deserves respect, if for no other reason than that he is a fair fighter. The one runs up his colors to the mast; the other, to save fighting, runs up the colors of a friend. If ritualism teaches nothing, symbolizes nothing, then our fervent prayer is, perish ritualism. If ritual does teach, and is meant to teach, then our only quarrel with ritual ought to be as to what it does teach. We have no patience with the silly talk that externals mean nothing,—a talk that the every-day transactions of every created living thing, each day of its life, contradicts. By externals, animals of every

species judge, and judge unerringly. By externals, men and women judge from the moment of their birth, unless they are born blind. If externals mean nothing, why is the pretty girl sought and the ugly one rejected? If externals mean nothing, why do we scan the faces of new acquaintances? Why does the judge scan the prisoner, and the prisoner the jury? If externals mean nothing, why do men gladly risk their lives to exchange one piece of bunting for another? Is it not, that though the colors be the same, red, white, and blue, yet one piece, the Union Jack, symbolizes the power of Great Britain, and the other that of the United States of America. Externals mean nothing! Let President Harrison fly the Union Jack from the Capitol on the next Fourth of July, and let us see if externals mean nothing to him! But externals do mean everything, because by such only can the internal, or real, be predicated. Divine worship cannot (at any rate so long as it is conducted by mortal beings on this planet) discard externals,—nay, could not if it wished. In the very simplest form the bowed head, the bent knee, will ever convey one idea of worship, while the curious gaze and "hunkering" attitude will ever convey another.

Let us accept the fact once for all that men are swayed by externals, and Americans more so than any other people, and see how we are to apply that fact to the rules of Divine worship.

First, ritual may be described as the law governing the externals in our relations to the Divinity. Second, ritual is true in proportion as it symbolizes the doctrine of which it is the external sign. Ritual is necessary in proportion as it brings the truth symbolized home to the heart.

These rules, we maintain, are applicable everywhere and to all,—to the savage perceiving the truths concerning the Deity dimly and darkly; to the acrid Calvinist and his distorted views of GOD's scheme of salvation; to the Roman Catholic, with his straining after false lights; to the Anglican Catholic, in his irksome task to recover the lost jewel of primitive catholicity; to the ideal Christian, in his visions of the beatific Presence; further, to the angels adoring Him in the height; nay, to the SON OF MAN, pleading for His own before the FATHER. So long as man is man, ritual will err, being insufficient, false, or excessive. But likewise is it true that so long as man is man, by ritual will he be taught.

The simplest form of ritual is that where the individual approaches the Deity.

When a man, free from the gaze of a fellow-man, says his morning or evening prayers, the ritual he uses will be just that which expresses his feelings toward GOD. If his belief is fervent, his attitude will be humble, will be awed. If his orisons are said from habit, any lolling or indifferent attitude will proclaim the empty faith. The attitude of the body will assuredly be guided by the devotion of the soul. There are four types of ritual relating to private prayer,—the absence of outward token, because there is no inward prayer; the careless getting into bed, and the mental prayer of a few words before going to sleep, with the uplifted eye as the external symbol of the prayer; the careless gabbling over of prayers before entering into bed, marked by the external careless attitude; the devout painstaking prayers, accompanied by the contrite self-examination, with the outward ritual of a kneeling, humble body, or bowed head and folded hands. These four may be said to be the four norms of private ritual in all ages, in all climes. The Jew, the Parsee, the Mussulman, or the Christian,—all thus use what may be called the natural ritual.

When we come to public ritual, to public worship, we find but the last three kinds differentiating all worship of man to GOD. The first, or the absence of ritual, never can be found in public worship, since the mere assemblage of two or three for that purpose is an outward token of some belief in some Deity. But the other kinds—the meagre, the careless, the devout public ritual—equally, as in private, proclaim the meagre, careless, or devout belief; so much must be granted. Ritual is a fact pervading all actions, and essentially all religious actions. Then comes the next point, what shall it be? The honest man will answer, "The expression of my convictions." Such is the right answer for the individual in his relations with the GOD-HEAD; but corporate worship needs corporate ritual. The ritual of an assemblage of believers must be such a ritual as expresses the belief of the assemblage at once not only to one of its own members, but to outsiders. An assemblage of Jews is easily distinguished from an assemblage of Mussulmen, one of Greek Catholics from one of Roman Catholics, one of Presbyterians from one of Methodists; and one of Anglo-Catholics ought to have its own distinguishing marks.

This at once brings us to the point of divergence. Many Churchmen will at once answer, "Yes," but differ as to the quantity. Others will answer, "No, let the ritual be either as near that of the Roman Catholics, or as near that of the Presbyterians."

Thus we come to the crucial question, What shall ritual symbolize? The modern faith of the Vatican, the sixteenth-century faith of Geneva, or the ancient primitive faith of the Apostolic Church? As members of the Anglican communion, we shall desire our ritual to be just such as shall symbolize the truths enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer.

We have no right to put our individual preferences forward, whether they incline to Rome or Geneva. If the corporate faith of the American Church expresses a certain belief, we have no right to act a lie, and proclaim by our ritual a disbelief in that faith. A few examples will suffice:—

If the American Church desires common worship in prayer and praise, we have no right, by the ritual of a duet between priest and clerk, or by a quartette of singers, to debar the people from their privileges. The ritual should be such as to enable the congregation to do their share in the common prayer and praise.

If the American Church puts in her minister's mouth a form of consecrating water in holy baptism, then there should be some external act of the minister accompanying the words of sanctification. If the American Church provides a form for the baptized to be marked with the sign of the cross, then, if it be a priest, he should know how to sign the child with the sacred symbol. If he signs with the little finger, he is showing his ignorance, or contempt, of the ancient usage; while if he signs with his thumb, he shows that he desires thus to symbolize his belief in the union both of himself and the baptized with the primitive Church, whose priests thus made the consecrating sign. If the Church in her Confirmation service makes her bishops pray for the sevenfold gifts of the HOLY GHOST, then the ritual of that service should be such as to impress candidates, people, and priest, with the nature of the unspeakable gift of the HOLY GHOST.

If the Church provides a form whereby her priests are given the power to remit sins and to act as priests of the Most High, then the accompanying ritual should be such as to convey to

the assembled congregation a deep sense of the awful powers thus bestowed. If the Church provides for any form of blessing, then the priest or bishop blessing should by his outward action show he believes he is giving something, and doing so with authority. If the Church provides words of administration so fraught with awe as "the body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST," "the blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST," then the most solemn, awe-inspiring external acts should accompany such administration. This, be it said, no matter to what degree the believer may believe in the Real Presence. Any one consenting to receive material elements accompanied by such words, denoting that what is given is body and blood, must believe in a Real Presence; for an unreal presence would be no presence at all. How, or to what extent, such body and blood may be present may conceivably be a matter of dispute; but that there must be some body and blood, however infinitesimal, is beyond argument, or the Church acts a lie, makes reception on the part of her people an act of hypocrisy, and deserves utter condemnation, persecution, and extirpation, as an organized body inculcating lying, perjury, and hypocrisy. And that there being some body and some blood, it remains to be added that that body and that blood is claimed to be that of JESUS CHRIST,—very GOD of very GOD. What high thanksgiving, what jubilant triumphs, what outbursts of praise, what solemn pomp ought not such an advent evoke! But it may be answered, all men do not rejoice alike, and perhaps they see rather matter of penitence than of joy in meeting their Redeemer. The first must be reminded that official acts express corporate and not individual action. All official acts must be attended by certain ceremonies, to maintain decorum, and to enable a certain concerted action to be carried out. An official reception by an African kinglet, by the President of the United States, by a European sovereign, is in each case marked by certain well-defined rules, precedents, or ceremonies; else, what was meant as an act of courtesy would degenerate into an act of license, followed by repression.

The second—he who feels penitent, and upon whose humility praise and acclaim jar as unfit—needs the reminder how deep must be such penitence, how evident must the ritual actions of the body of the communicant be who approaches in such a frame. Whether joy or penitence mark the Holy

Eucharist, there can be logically no middle position. There can be no acts symbolizing such thoughts as, "I do this, but I don't believe in it;" "I do this, but I do so meaning something quite different from what the Church I belong to has ever taught; I have my private opinion, and as an individual choose to express it by such and such acts." Ritual symbolizing such private thoughts can find no place in any corporate action.

Corporate acts must be done to show forth the corporate intention. An ambassador must represent the views of his nation, not his own.

Then there is also to be considered the nationality of a church. A church must keep the deposit of faith inviolate, neither diminishing nor adding. Her expression, however, of that faith may rightly vary,—in other words, she may have a national ritual; so far from such a thing being harmful, it works for good. It creates a national feeling, an *esprit de corps*, which is ever a good sign in any institution. It furthers the expression of national feeling in what ought to be the expression of its national attitude to GOD. Every national church has had a national ritual. If the American Church is to be the national Church of this land, the sooner she has her national ritual the better. If she has no such hopes, then she will soon cease to be a church at all. Her one weapon against Rome (which is practically her only rival, as the sects are too weak doctrinally to live much longer) is gone. The sects must go on subdividing; and in proportion as the American Church is positive in her teaching, in like proportion will she attract to herself the individual atoms. There is one basis common to all schools of thought within the Church upon which she can later on build an appeal to the loyalty of all American citizens. That basis is the Christian Year. The Christian Year is being ritually shown forth more and more every year. White hangings and flowers prevail in most parishes for Christmas and Easter. Why cannot the Church set forth a sequence of colors which shall be national? As it is at present, Church almanacs supersede the Church and the Ordinary; and they alone dictate the sequence of white, red, green, and violet. If we are asked to explain where we get that sequence from, we have to stammeringly reply, "From Rome." "Good-by," says our interlocutor; "I thought you were Romish, and now I am sure." Could we say that our sequence was American, should we not attract favor-

able consideration at once from many who now look upon us as English or Romish?

Red, white, and blue are the national colors, and to these three we should restrict ourselves. Red, white, and blue are also the colors of England and Scotland, whence we derive our existence. The next consideration is whether we are not running counter to English and Scotch traditions by the adoption of such a use. Such an argument has great force. If the present sequence of white, red, green, and violet were the English sequence, then there might be some reason why we should adhere to them. They are, however, as their admirers in this country rightly call them, Roman. Rome is anti-national; why should we, then, as a national church, wear the colors of Rome? The work of Mr. St. John Hope is timely, and helps us to an accurate knowledge of what the English use was. An examination of it will enable us to correct many of our crude ideas as to the poverty of the English use, and perhaps enable us to suggest a national use for our own Church. The information which Mr. St. John Hope has so painstakingly collected is unique. It is derived from an exhaustive study of wills and inventories. We thus obtain accurate information as to what colors were actually used. As Mr. St. John Hope rightly claims in his preface, —

The particular value of these documents lies in the fact that they tell us what colors were *actually used*. They are also not open to the objection that has been raised against the rules laid down in the pontificals; namely, that they are the mere caprice of individual bishops. The inventories, moreover, have this further advantage, that they give us a continuous record from the first quarter of the thirteenth century down to the reign of Elizabeth.

At the outset we have given us a few cases where the Edwardian commissioners appear to describe the hangings actually on the altars at the very time when the inventory was taken. They are extremely interesting as bearing upon the ornaments rubrics of the English Prayer-Book: —

MONKEN HADLEY, MIDDLESEX, Aug. 3rd, 1552. (Invention of S. Stephen.)

ij clothes hanging before thalter, of Satten of Bridges, color white.

LECKHAMPSTEAD, BERKS, August 4th, 1552.

A cloth that hangeth before thaulter, of white satten spanged with white sylke.

ALDWORTH, BERKS, August the 4th, 1552.

One paynted clothe before the alter of canvas.

BEDON, BERKS, August the 4th, 1552.

The cloth that hangeth before thaulter, of blewe sattyn bridges.

SHENFIELD, BERKS, August 6th, 1552. (Transfiguration.)

The upper hanginge clothe of the highe ault' paned wth Tisshew & Dunne wth floweres.

The lower hanging cloth of the said ault' paned wth yellow damaske & blacke Saten.

FARNBOROUGH, KENT, November 13th, 1552.

A fronte of cremyson velvett upon thigh alter braunched with flowers of gold.

FOOT'S CRAY, KENT.

Another old cloth hanging before thighe alter of whit cruell and grene flowers of silk.

We will now examine the various colors for the various seasons of the Christian Year, premising that the documents examined cover the period between 1220 to 1560, and that Mr. St. John Hope gives about a thousand entries. We shall only cite a few entries characteristic of each kind: —

ADVENT.

1327. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

i Casula *purpurea* cum floribus, etc., pro Adventu et Septuagesima.

i Capa de *violet* cum aurifragio lato, et 2 capæ *purpureæ* stragulatæ pro Adventu et Septuagesima.

Circa 1500. YORK MINSTER.

Una secta *blodia* del bawdekyn pro adventu et septuagesima.

1506. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

Tres capæ de *purpureo* serico quasi unius sectæ propter Adventum.

i larga casula usitata in Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimæ, de *purpull* operata per totum opere acuali cum magnis bestiis aureis in circulis aureis, etc., cum stricto aureo orfrey in pectore.

1406-1426. S. PAUL'S, LONDON. The following is a translation of the London (S. Paul's) sequence, from the pontifical of Bishop Clifford: —

Concerning *violet* color. *Violet or purple*, dark and obscure of vision, is indicative of penitence and despising of the world. Therefore on the first Sunday of our LORD's Advent, on account of the time of anxious expectation, and on all ferial days, when the office is *de tempore*, until evensong on the Eve of our LORD's nativity.

And note that purple and violet are reckoned the same.

1258-1283. WESTMINSTER ABBEY, LONDON. The following is a translation of the Westminster rule of colors, from the *Liber Consuetudinarius* of Richard de Ware, abbot, 1258-1283: —

On the first Sunday in the LORD's Advent, and on other Sundays thence to the Purification, the priest at evensong, and the hebdomadary of the cope at mass, shall put on *white* copes; and the priest of either mass, whether that of the Sunday or Christmas be celebrated, shall put on a *white* chasuble. Also both the deacon and subdeacon ought to be vested in *white* chasubles or dalmatics, according to what is fitting for the time. And the apparels of the albes, if they have them, ought to be of the same colour; which must likewise be observed at the mass of the vigil, and on the first and second mass on Christmas Day.

1239-1241. LICHFIELD. From a translation of a corrected transcript of the Statutes of Bishop Pateshull: —

But in Advent and Quadragesima, and at the services for the dead, they must use *black* silk copes.

1340. WELLS. Translation from the *Ordinale et Statuta* of 1340: —

The first Sunday of our LORD's Advent, and throughout the whole of Advent, when the choir is robed, let everything be *blue*, except only that on Wednesday in the Ember Days, at Mass, let the Deacon and sub-deacon be vested in *white* vestments.

Circa 1337. EXETER. Translation from the *Ordinale* of Bishop Grandisson: —

From the first Sunday in Advent until the Vigil of our LORD's Nativity, inclusive, *violet* vestments must be worn. . . . Yet if it happens that there are some mixed with gold, let them be especially put on, on the first and third Sunday in Advent, and the fourth Sunday in Lent.

USE OF YORK. The York service-books give *red* for the Saturday in the Advent Ember week; from the inventories we learn that *blue* was the color for Advent.

CHRISTMAS AND CIRCUMCISION.

No mention of the Christmas or Circumcision colors have yet been found in either inventories or wills. The Diocesan rules, however, enjoin *white*.

1536. SALISBURY. The 1536 inventory of the Salisbury Cathedral Church gives us a *cloth-of-gold* frontal for the high altar on principal feasts, of which Christmas Day was of course one.

1384-1385. WINDSOR. For principal feasts there were *red* and *green* costers.

1406-1426. S. PAUL'S, LONDON. From the translation of Bishop Clifford:—

White must be used on the Birthday of our LORD, and on the sixth day after Christmas, and on the day of the Circumcision.

1258-1283. WESTMINSTER. From the *Liber Consuetudinarius* we get *white* as the color for Christmas and Circumcision.

1239-1241. LICHFIELD. From the Statutes of Bishop Pates-hull we have given us, —

On Christmas Day they must use the *more precious vestments*.

1340. WELLS. The *Ordinale et Statuta* of 1340 give, —

On Christmas Day let everything be *white*, except at the second mass. [What the color is to be at the second mass is not stated, presumably *red*.] On the feast of our LORD's Circumcision let the principal rulers be in *white* vestments, and the secondaries in *red*; at the Magnificat and Benedictus let one be *red* and another *white*; at the mass let the three principal rulers be in *red*, and the two secondaries, one in *white* vestments and another in *red*.

Circa 1337. EXETER. From the *Ordinale* of Bishop Gran-disson:—

Each of these colours [i. e. white, red, green, or yellow (*viridis seu croceus*), violet, blue, or black] must be so considered, if the greater part, which is called the field of the cloth, be of it, although mixed with gold or another colour. Hence, each of these colours must be used as

is herein contained ; yet so that when mixed with gold and more noble, let them be worn on greater feasts in their place, and the plain or more simple on lesser feasts. Nevertheless, if they have vestments *very precious* and beautiful in appearance, as being *embroidered with images or singularly adorned with divers colours*, they must be used on the chief greater feasts. But the rest of the colours must be used in this manner ; *viz.* —

. . . On Christmas Day . . . and on the sixth day from Christmas Day and on the day of the Circumcision according to some . . . *white*, otherwise *red*.

1440. LINCOLN. The list of goods given by Sir Thomas Cumberworth to the Trinity Chapel in Somerby Church, Lincolnshire, includes one of whole *cloth of gold*, for great, double, and principal feasts.

1536-1537. LINCOLN. An inventory gives us *cloth of gold* for the high altar for principal feasts.

YORK USE gives us *white* for Christmas.

EPIPHANY.

1540 (?). WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

A front for benethe for the day of y^e Epiphanye, of *whyte wyth starrys*.

1368. EXETER. Bishop Grandisson, in his will, dated 1368, bequeaths to his cathedral church —

Vestimenta pro diebus Epiphanie, Penticostes, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ; viz.: Casulam, tunicam, et dalmaticam, cum una capa *de pannis rubeis et aureis qui vocatur de nakta*.

1536. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH. An inventory of 1536 gives us *cloth-of-gold* frontal for Epiphany.

1385. WINDSOR. We have already seen there were *red and green* costers for the principal feasts.

1406-1426. LONDON, S. PAUL'S. Bishop Clifford's sequence gives *white* for "on the Eve, day, and through the whole of the octave of the Epiphany."

1258-1283. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. The *Liber Consuetudinarius* of Abbot Richard de Ware gives, as we have seen, *white* "from the first Sunday of the LORD's Advent, and on other Sundays thence to the Purification of the Blessed Mary,

or to Septuagesima Sunday, . . . and at the high mass through the octave of the Epiphany."

1239-1241. LICHFIELD. Statutes of Bishop Pateshull give us *red* copes for the rulers of the choir on the feast of the Epiphany.

1340. WELLS. The *Ordinale et Statuta* direct,—

On Our LORD's Epiphany and throughout the Octave, and on the octave, as on Christmas Day, let everything be in *white*. From the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, when the office is *de temporali*, everything shall be *red*.

Circa 1337. EXETER. The *Ordinale* of Bishop Grandisson reads,—

From the octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, as often as the office is *de tempore*, *green* must be used; . . . and on the vigil and feast throughout the octave of the Epiphany, . . . *white*, otherwise, *red* (*albis alias rubeis*).

1368. EXETER. By the rule, *white* is the Epiphany color; but Bishop Grandisson, in 1368, bequeathed for use on that day a suit of *red* and *gold*.

SEPTUAGESIMA TO LENT.

When examining into the color for Advent, we found that the rules applied generally to Advent and Septuagesima. There we found *purple* and *violet* at Exeter, *blue* at York, *black* at Lichfield, as the colors for Advent and Septuagesima. Besides these we have, — *

1400. SALISBURY. The rule in the Mass-book, after stating on which days white was to be used, says,—

But let them use *red* vestments on all Sundays through the year, out of Eastertide, when the service is of the Sunday.

1406-1426. S. PAUL'S, LONDON. Bishop Clifford's sequence gives, —

From evensong, on the Saturday of Septuagesima, when Alleluia is ended, until Maundy Thursday; or according to some Churches, until Passion Sunday, . . . *purple* or *violet* must be used.

And note that *purple* and *violet* are reckoned the same.

1258-1283. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. The *Liber Consuetudinarius* gives,—

On Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sunday, at either mass, if they be of the Sunday, the priest's chasuble, and the chasubles of all the ministers at high mass, and the cope in the middle of the choir, ought to be of a sub-red colour (*sub rubei coloris*) ; and likewise the chasuble at high mass on private days within the same season.

1239-1241. LICHFIELD. The Statutes of Bishop Pateshull give,—

On Sundays, from the octave of the Epiphany until Lent, according to the *will of the sacrist* (*pro voluntate sacristæ*), when the office is of the Sunday.

1340. WELLS. The *Ordinale*, which gives us the Wells sequence, has a gap which leaves undefined the Septuagesima color. It reads,—

From Septuagesima Sunday until Passion Sunday, when the office is *de temporali*, let everything be . . .

Fortunately, the industry of Mr. St. John Hope has, by means of two inventories of S. Cuthbert's, Wells, supplied the hiatus. These inventories give *white* vestments and hangings for the high altar during Lent.

Circa 1337. EXETER. Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale* directs, *violet* vestments must be used from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, or according to some, until Passion Sunday. And again, in Advent, Septuagesima, and Lent, *violet*.

LENT.

We now come to the consideration of what is the most interesting of the facts revealed by Mr. St. John Hope in the accumulation of these extracts from wills and inventories.

While the data concerning the other Christian seasons are definite enough to enable us to know with a tolerable certainty several of the Diocesan uses in mediæval England, we have now for the first time an overwhelming mass of evidence proving that the Lenten color throughout England was *white*. White was the national Lenten use. Such an assertion will give a shock to all our preconceived notions, and at once de-

monstrate upon what a feeble foundation have our *correct* sequences of colors been built.

We have extracts given us of wills and inventories from A.D. 1220 to 1566, giving us more than two hundred and fifty entries, over a period of three hundred and fifty-six years. When we have data covering so wide an area, the facts which they reveal cannot be gainsaid. Mr. St. John Hope states,—

To show how universal this color was, I have found instances in every Diocese, except Chichester and Carlisle, for which I have seen no inventories; in the cathedral churches of York, Ely, Durham, and Salisbury; among the Benedictines at Westminster, Durham, Peterborough, S. Albans, etc.; among the Cistercians, as at Fountains; among the Black Canons at Oxford, Dunmow, etc.; among the White and Black Friars; in the royal chapels of S. George's, Windsor, and S. Stephen's, Westminster, and in the royal wardrobe; in collegiate churches and chapels, such as Warwick, Cobham, Thame; at King's, Christ's, and Clare colleges at Cambridge, and Magdalen and All Souls' at Oxford; with numerous parish churches throughout the length and breadth of England.

One point which Mr. St. John Hope omits to bring out, but which the inventories clearly reveal, is that white was not the color because the churches had no other; on the contrary, many of the churches had a wealth and abundance of vestments and hangings of all colors,—red, blue, purple, violet, yellow, tawny, green, parti-colored, and of cloth of gold, and white for festivals. The white for Lent is especially mentioned, thus proving that not only was white the Lenten color, but that the vestments were not the white ones used at festivals; paucity of vestments, therefore, was not the reason for the wide use of this Lenten color.

We will now give a few typical extracts from the wills and inventories:—

1355. Will of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare. Among other bequests to Clare Hall, Cambridge:—

j Vestiment de *blank* tartaryn raié door pur quaresme ove tut lapparail.
Un vestiment dun *blank* samyt auxint pur quaresme.

1354. HULNE PRIORY, NORTHUMBERLAND (White Friars).

Sex panni *albi* cruce rubea signati, canobio novo duplati, pro tribus altariis in Quadragesima, septimus pro pulpito, octavus pro cruce, nonus pro nō ejusdem, decimus pro velo ejusdem sectæ.

1384. WINDSOR, S. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

Item, unum vestimentum (a set) de panno *albo* pro Quadragesimali tempore, &c., &c.

1393. WELLS, S. CUTHBERT, SOMERSET.

Belonging to the high altar. Two sets of vestments, one of no value, of *white* colour for Lent.

Belonging to S. Mary's altar. 1 *white* cloth for hanging in time of Lent.

Belonging to S. Katherine's altar. 1 cloth intended for the time of Lent.

Belonging to S. Michael's altar. 1 *white* cloth for Lent.

1397-1398. LONDON, S. ANTONY. Altar of the Grocers' Company.

Item, unum vestimentum de *albo* pro presbitero . . . pro quadragesima.

Item, duo Curteyn de *albo* pro quadragesima.

Item, duo long' Curteyn de *albo* cum duabus crucibus pro quadragesima.

1368 X 1419. NORWICH, S. LAWRENCE.

Three *white* linen cloths powdered with great red crosses of saye for the service of the same three altars with covers of the same suit for covering all the images in the church in the time of Lent.

1400. INVENTORY OF THOMAS DALBY, ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND.

Pro *albis* curtyns pro altari in Quadragesima.

1407. WARWICK, COLLEGE OF S. MARY.

An hole vestiment of *white* tartaryn for lenton that is to say . iij aubes . iij . amytes . wyth the parures . a . chesible . iij . stolis . iij . fanons . iij girdelis . ij . auer clothis wyth . a . frontel . & a towail . iij . curtyns . a . lectron cloth . and a veyle of lynnen cloth.

Temp. HENRY IV. (1399-1413), S. ALBAN'S ABBEY, HERTS (Benedictine).

Item habentur septem casulæ *albae* de bustian pro Quadragesima.

Apparatus altarium pro Quadragesima.

Item habentur ornamenta altarium pro Quadragesima *albi* panni cum crucibus de rubeo sandalio ; viz. pro magno altari totus apparatus tam sub quam super cum ridellis competentibus, &c., &c.

1448. THAME, OXON.

It' a *white* weyle for the Croce in lent tyme, and ano^r *white* weyle to be hangyng in the chauncell befor the hy aut^r in lentyn tyme.

A chesebyll of *white* w^t an albe for lent.

Circa 1462. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH (Lady Hungerford's chantry). Among the foundress's gifts: —

Item, Two Autar cloths for Lenten time, of *Linnen cloth*, with crosses of Purple in every cloth, and a Crown of Thornes hanging upon the head of every cross; with a frontel to the same of *blak Bokeram* between, with letters of gold, saying, *Qui cognoscis occulta cordis, parce peccatis nostris*, & a Chesibil, with all the apparel to the same belonging.

Item, Two curtains of *Linnen cloth* to cover the Images with in the Lent, of elle-broad cloth; two leves of bredth, and three yards of length.

Item, An hanging of *Linnen cloth*, to cover the Pictures of the chappel in Lent time, round about from the one Arch to the other.

1466. LONDON, S. STEPHEN, COLEMAN STREET.

j hole sute of vestments of *whyte bustyan* for *Sondays in tyme of lent*, w^t Rede Roses enbraudet, w^t stoles, etc., of the same sute.

j vestment of *white* sylke in tyme of lent, w^t stolle, etc.

j vestment of *whyte fustyan* for lent, w^t stolle, etc.

Hanging ffor the hy auter, item, ij steyned clothes for a boue and be-neth, w^t the passion of oure lorde for tyme of lent.

(Three other altars were similarly provided.)

1479. COBHAM COLLEGE, KENT.

Vestimenta cotidiana: —

Item, vestimentum *album* pro Quadragesima.

Item, velum *lineum* pro Quadragesima cum panno pro Crucifixo.

Item, ij. panni de *albo* serico cum bina cruce de rubeo pro Quadragesima.

Ornamenta pro altare sanctae Mariae.

Item, vestimentum *album* de serico pro Quadragesima.

Item, aliud vestimentum *album* pro cotidianis in tempore Quadragesimali.

Item, ij panni serici *albi* pro altari picti cum ymaginibus de passione Christi cum ij. ridellis sericis pro Quadragesima.

Ornamenta pro altare sanctae Trinitatis.

Item, vestimentum *album* pro Quadragesima.

Item, ij panni *linei albi* picti cum passione Christi cum ij. ridellis pertinentibus eidem pro Quadragesima.

1479-1486. LONDON, S. MARGARET PATTENS.

A vestement of *white* Bokeram for to serve for lenton, . . . w^t red spottes & a red crosse on the bake & Jhs writt' in the myddes of the same crosse.

ij newe awter clothes ffor lenton on above the awter, w^t the crucifixre of our lord, & a nod^r beneyth the awter w^t the Sepulcur of our lord.

1483. LONDON, S. CHRISTOPHER LE STOCKS.

Lente clothes : —

Item for the high Aulter ij clothes of *whyte*, stayned with the Sonne upon them and a Crosse with Scorges upon the other.

Item, ij Clothes for the postellys Aucter steyned with the Crosse and Scorges, to hange on aboue and the other before the Aucter.

Item ther beth for ij Aucters of the Same Sewte both a boue and beneth.

Item there beth iiiij clothes of the Same Sewte that s've for Riddelys in the Quere in the lentyn Season.

Item iiiij Symple vestements of *whyte* bustian & the Orpharies of Red velvet, to serve in the lente Season.

1485. Langley Priory, Leicestershire (Benedictine Nuns).

Lentyn clothes : —

j complete vestiment of *white* sewde warke.

jaulter cloth ande vale of y^e same.

j *white* and ij *blew* clothys to kever and auter y^e ymages in lenten seysyn.

ij curten for y^e quere.

xvij pesys of *lynnyne* to kever y^e ymages with in y^e same sesyne.

1495. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Item, aliam sectam *rubeam* pro Dominicis in tempore Quadragesimali.

Item, duo frontalia et duo dorsalia *alba*, unum de serico *albo*, aliud de fuschen in tempore Quadragesimali pro summo altari.

Item, unum dorsale et unum frontale de sangwein tewke pro summo altari et pro Dominicis Quadragesima.

1500. WILL OF HENRY ALEVYN, OF BEVERLEY, PRIEST.

Volo quod comparetur j vestimentum *album* operis Quadragesimalis ad deservendum Ecclesian parochialem de Rudstan, cui olim prae*fui* vicarius singulis temporibus Quadragesimalibus.

1503, 1517, & 1523. READING, S. LAWRENCE, BERKS.

A *white* Chesible w^t a red Crosse and all apparell for lent.

ij awter cloths w^t red crosses for lent, w^t curteyns to the same.

1509. WILL OF LADY MARGARET BEAUFORT. Among other bequests to Christ College, Cambridge: —

Item, ij auuter clothes for lenten of *white saten*, with pagentes of the pacion in *white* and *blake*.

1535. MINSTER, ISLE OF SHEPPEY, KENT (Benedictine nuns).

Item, upon the high Aulter iiij alter clothes of lynyn, one front for above, and a nother for byneth of lynyn with crosses *red* and *blew* for the Lent.

Item, one greate lent clothe of *lynyn* to draw overthwart the quyer in the lent.

Item, a vestment w^t the albe and apparell of *white* bustyan for lent.

1536. KILBURN PRIORY, MIDDLESEX (Benedictine nuns).

A cope of *white* w^t roses for Lent season.

Circa 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. From the "Lent Stuff" the following items will suffice: —

A *white* clothe of sylk with a red crosse servyng for Lent.

iiij chezabulls of *whyte*, one sute, & a cope.

ij white sydaryes.

In Seynt Edwardes Chapell: —

A nether frounte sarsenett with a redde crosse.

St. Nicholas' chapel: —

ij auuter clothis for Lent of whit sarsenett, with a rede crosse.

St. John Evangelist's chapel: —

ij Cortens of *blew* bokeram for Lent.

j *whit* cloth for the auuter in Lent.

St. Michaels' chapel: —

A cloth of *blew* bokeram for Lent.

ij *whit* clothes of staynid cloth for Lent for the auuter above and beneth.

1543. YORK MINSTER.

All Saints Chantry.

Another vestment for Lent, of *white fustian*, w^t a read crosse & all things.

St. Wilfrid's Chantry: —

A Lent cloth of *blacke & tawne* sarsenet.

1544-1545. OXFORD, S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY (Black Canons).

A veall of new *whitt sercenett* for Lentt.

Hangings for the highe alter, for aboue and benethe, of new *whit sercenett* w^t redd crosses, called alterclothes for Lentt.

1547. ORNAMENTS OF "THE VESTRY" OF KING EDWARD VI., LATE HENRY VIII.

Lenton Stuff : —

Item, oon preist, Deacon, and Subdeacon of *white Damaske* wth redd Crosses.

Item, twoo ffrontes for an Aulter, of the same *white Damaske* with like redd crosses.

Item, twoo vestmentes for side Aulters, of *white Damaske* with redd crosses.

Item, foure ffrontes for side Aulters, of the Same *white Damaske* with redd crosses.

Item, twoo Deske clothes, one of *white vellat* and thother *white Damaske*, with redd Crosses in them.

Item, one vaill of *white Sarcennet* with a red cross of Sarcennet.

Item, one small pece of *white Sarcennet* wth a redd Crosse painted with five woundes.

1548. LONDON, S. MARGARET, COLEMAN STREET.

Solde to Christopher Stowbbs a whyt lenten vestment for ijs, viijd.

1550. LONDON, S. DUNSTAN IN THE EAST.

Vestments for Lent : —

Item, ij of *whyte Bustyn* w^t Red Crosses w^t fflower delyce at the end, w^t thapp^r tennce.

Item, another of *whyte Bustyn* w^t a Red Crosse of Seye in the mydds w^t thapp^r tennce.

Item, another of *whyte Lynnyn* w^t a Red Crosse & fflowers delyce at the end, w^t thapp^r tennce.

Hangyngs for Lent : —

Item, one of *whyte Bustyn* for aboue and beneth for the high Aulter, w^t Curtyns of the same w^t Red Crossis.

Item, one of *whyte Lynnyn* for aboue and beneth for the high Aulter, w^t Curteyns of the same w^t Red crossis.

Item, one of *whyte Lynnyn* for aboue and beneth for Jhus Aulter, w^t Curtyns of the same.

Item, a hanging for aboue and Beneth of stayned Cloth for o^r Lady Aulter, w^t Curtyns of y^e same.

Item, ij Hangyngs of *white Bustyn* for ij small Aulters, w^t thre Curtyns of the same.

1552. LONDON, S. ANNE AND S. AGNES.

A nold vestment of *whyte strypd* & a aube for lent.

vij Curtens of lynnyn Cloth paynted for lent.

1552. BEXLEY, KENT.

On vestment of *white* tuke for lent with all thapparell to the same.

1552. LONDON, S. NICHOLAS COLE ABBEY.

A vestment of white for Lent.

Eight Altar Cloths of white with drops of blood for Lent.

1552. DROITWICH, S. ANDREW, WORCESTERSHIRE.

v vestments of *lenten whyte*.

1552. FARNHAM, SURREY.

a clothe of *lynnes* called a vale clothe.

j Lent vestment and ij cortyns of *lynnen*, and ij hanginges for the aulter, for Lent, of *lynnyng*.

1552. NORTHCAVE AND SOUTHCLIFF, YORKS.

A vestment of *whyt* twill for Lent.

1552. YATTENDON, BERKS.

A clothe called A vayle clothe of *lynnene*, & lyned w^t blewe lynene w^{ch} was wonte to be drawene before the heygh Alter in the lente time.

We will now pass on to Passion-tide. The color, according to Sarum, Wells, Lichfield, and Westminster rules, was *red* for Passion-tide.

The inventories give us,—

1506. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

1 casula cum 2 tuniculis de *rubo* satino deserviens a Passione Domini usque ad Pascha.

1539. PETERBOROUGH ABBEY.

27 *red* albes for Passion week (i. e. with red apparels).

For Palm Sunday, Sarum, Wells, Lichfield, and Westminster prescribe *red*, but York, *white*.

From the inventories we have,—

Circa 1257. DURHAM CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

Capella Nicholai (de Farnham), Episcopi.

Una casula de *rubeo* Samette cum largis orariis et multis magnis lapidibus preciosis in qua celebratur *in Die Palmarum*.

1315. CHRIST CHURCH MONASTERY, CANTERBURY.

Pannus *niger* cum *albis* leonibus *pro festo palmarum*.

Circa 1506. EXETER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

6 albae de cressecloth sine paruris, deservientes *pro Dominica in Ramis palmarum.*

10 amictas de eodem panno pro eodem die.

Circa 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

A cope, a chezabull, etc., of *crymsyn bawdekyn*, . . . serving for *Palme Sonday* and *Sherthursday* and *Seynt Andrew's Day*.

1552. MOULSFORD, BERKS.

A canabe for *palmesondaye* of *grene & Red* satene of burgyes wyth A sylke frysng.

The Maundy Thursday color was white or red according to the rules, but only the Westminster inventories have any entries relating to it.

1388. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

j tunica stragulata per se de pluribus coloribus pro lectione ad collacionem, tempore mandati in die *Cene Domini*.

Circa 1540.

A cope, a chezabull, etc., of *crymsyn bawdekyn*, . . . serving for *Palme Sonday* and *Sherthursday* and *Seynt Andrew's Day*.

The color for Good Friday, according to the sequences, varies from red, through purple and violet, to black. The inventories give us for the most part red or purple, though we find black at Exeter, and at Meaux (a Cistercian abbey) and at Bodmin, Cornwall, so late as 1566 (8 Eliz.), we find white for Good Friday.

We will take only a few extracts from the inventories: —

1396. MEAUX ABBEY, YORKS.

Casula una de *albo* serico pro die Parascevæ cum 2 stolis et 3 manipulis.

1485. SOUTHWARK, S. MARGARET, SURREY.

A chesebull of *Rede* for good fryday.

1536. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

A chesable with two tunacles of *Red* for Good Friday.

Circa 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

A cope and iij chezabulls of *purpurill* satten, servyng for Good Friday ffor *Palme Sonday*.

iij copies of *purpull* satten, servyng for good Fridaye. [Headed "Red coopes."]

We will now briefly examine what the Diocesan sequences ruled for Lent.

1215-1230. SALISBURY. The Consuetudinary of S. Osmund prescribes,—

But they use *red* vestments on either the feast of the Holy Cross . . . and in singing the tracts on simple feasts in Lent, and on Passion Sunday; and on Palm Sunday the rulers of the choir use *red* copes.

1406-1426. S. PAUL'S, LONDON. Bishop Clifford's pontifical directs,—

Concerning *violet* color.—*Violet* or *purple*, dark, and obscure of vision, is indicative of penitence and despising of the world. Therefore . . . from evensong on the Saturday of Septuagesima, when *Alleluia* is ended, until Maundy Thursday, or according to some churches, until Passion Sunday . . . on account of the time of penitence, *purple* or *violet* must be used.

White is directed to be used on Maundy Thursday. On Good Friday (in die parasesce) *black* (vestments) must be used. Nevertheless, it seems more convenient on Good Friday to use *red* as far as the solemn prayers, and afterward *black*.

1258-1283. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. The *Liber Consuetudinarius* gives us,—

Which vestments (i. e. chasubles and copes) from the first Sunday of Lent until the Sunday in our LORD's passion, as well on Sundays as private days, shall be altogether of a *black* or *quasi-black* color (*nigra seu quasi nigri coloris*), to which also the apparels of the albes, if they have them, shall agree in colour. . . . But in the Sunday in our LORD's passion . . . the vestments shall be altogether *red* or *sub-red* (*rubia aut etiam subrubia*), or something of the kind (*aut etiam hujusmodi*).

1230-1241. LICHFIELD. The Statutes of Bishop Pateshull prescribe for Lent *black* silk copes.

1340. WELLS. The order of the *Ordinale et Statuta* with regard to Lent has, as we have already seen when examining Septuagesima, a hiatus just at this point,—a hiatus which, however, the inventories supply by giving us *white* as the color for Septuagesima to Passion Sunday. It then proceeds,—

On Passion Sunday let everything be *red*.

On Palm Sunday let everything be in *red*, except one cope of *black*, “ad opus Caiaphæ” (i. e. for him who takes the part of Caiaphas in the Passion).

On Maundy Thursday let everything be *red*, with a banner of *white*.

On Good Friday let the deacon be in *red* vestments, and the sub-deacon in . . . or purple vestments.

Circa 1337. EXETER. Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale* prescribes,—

Violet vestments from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday, or according to some, until Passion Sunday. On Good Friday also, until after the solemn collects have been said; . . . yet if it happen that there are some (i. e. violet vestments) *mixed with gold*, let them be specially put on, on the first and third Sundays in advent, and the *fourth Sunday in Lent*. . . . On Maundy Thursday when the Bishop consecrates the chrism, *white*, otherwise *red*. . . . According to some, within Passion (week?) and on Maundy Thursday (if the Bishop does not celebrate) red vestments must be used. . . . Generally speaking, therefore, . . . in Lent violet vestments, but *black* colour on Good Friday after the creeping to the Cross.

HEREFORD. The *Ordinale* prescribes *black* copes on Palm Sunday, and *red* for Good Friday.

YORK. The York service-books give us *white* for the procession on Palm Sunday, possibly *black* for Good Friday.

DURHAM. *White* for Lent, *red* for Palm Sunday.

LENTEN STUFF.

Before passing on to Easter, it will be interesting to note some examples of what was called “Lenten stuff.” Under this heading were included the clothes for covering images, the veils or clothes to cover the altar ornaments, the cross-cloth or veil to hide the cross, and the Lenten veil, which was a large hanging to draw before the high altar. The last inventory mentioned under “Lent”—that of Yattendon, Berks.—is an example of this Lenten veil: “A clothe called A vayle clothe of lynnen & lyned w^t blewe lynene w^{ch} was wonte to be drawene before the heyghe Alter in the lente time.” The inventory of Farley, 1552, gives a “Lent clothe of canvas steyned with blewe and red spottes.” This was also, we conceive, a Lenten veil. S. James, Poole, also had “It’ a uayle to be hongyd vpon y^e lent

asor y hye awter." York minster had, in 1500, for Lent, "panni pendentes pro choro." A few examples of this Lenten stuff will suffice to prove their continuous use:—

1222. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

Velum unum de serico Quadragesimale.

1297. KENSWORTH, HERTS.

Velum quadragesimale decens consutum cum bestiis *de linea panno*.

1354. HULNE PRIORY, NORTHUMBERLAND (White Friars).

Sex panni albi cruce rubea signati, canobio novo duplati, pro tribus altaribus in Quadragesima, septimus pro pulpito, octavus pro cruce, nonus pro *ño ejusdem*, decimus pro velo *ejusdem sectae*.

1395. BRISTOL, ALL SAINTS.

j steynyd cloth for ye hye Awter yn ye lenten tyme of y^e passyon of Cryste.

1431. LONDON, S. PETER, CHEAP.

j veile steynede w^t j crosse of rede for lent in the quere.

1440. SOMERBY, LINCOLNSHIRE (*ex dono* Sir Thomas Cumberworth).

All the array for Lenton for the altar, both over dose and nether dose, with curtines and fronturs, all of *lynnen cloth*.

1485. CANTERBURY, S. ANDREW, KENT.

Item, j lynnencloth to hang afore the cross in the fore chirche tempore xl^{me}

1500. CANTERBURY, S. DUNSTAN, KENT.

xxxij newer lenten clothes; j w^t curteyns for the aulters and imagies of dyvers pyctories of the passion of Cryste.

1529. LONG MELFORD, SUFFOLK.

To the high Altar:—

A cloth of Adam and Eve, to draw before the High Altar in time of Lent, called the Veil.

1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

A gret clothe paynted for the Crucifix over the highe awter.
ij drawyng perpull curteyns for the vayle before the highe awter.
a staynyd clothe ffor the Crokyd Rood.

1552. ASHFORD.

one crosse clothe of grene silk.

1552. CHISLEHURST.

j pece of red velvett for the crosse on Good Fridaye.

1560. CHELMSFORD, ESSEX.

A Lent clothe of lynnyn for y^e hygh alter paynted with drops.

A vayle of cloth for Lent.

The usual color for these cross-cloths seems to have been red or green; indeed, we find no other colors mentioned.

There does not appear to have been any mention of Lenten stuff in the Diocesan sequences.

Before taking leave of Lent, the following communication from Mr. St. John Hope to the *Church Times* of November 15 is worthy of notice.

In Blomfield's *History of Norfolk*, iii. 185, is a long account of the proceedings consequent upon a riot that took place in Norwich in 1443, known as 'Gladman's Insurrection.' The citizens' account of the riot contains a very curious instance of the use of white for Lent which is worth quoting:—

'John Gladman of Norwich, who was ever, and at thys ouris, a man of sad disposition, and trewe and feyfull to God and to the Kyng, of disporte as hath ben accustomed in ony (? ev'y) city or burgh thorowe alle this reame, on Tuesday in the last ende of Cresteresse,—viz. Fast-yngonge Tuesday,—made a dispot with hys neyghbours, havyng his hors trappyd with tynnsyle, and other nise disgisy things, coronned as Kyng of Cresteresse; in tokyn that seson should end with the twelve monethes of the yere, aforne hym (went) yche moneth disguised after the seson requiryd, and *lenton clad in whyte* and red heryngs skynns, and his hors trapped with oystyr shells after him, in token that sadness shuld folowe, and an holy tyme, and so rode in divers stretis of the cite,' etc.

EASTER EVEN AND EASTER-TIDE.

Unfortunately there are practically no inventories or wills to guide us in determining the actual colors in use at this season.

Mr. St. John Hope has unearthed but two entries relating to Easter Even, and only one relating to Easter. They are,—

Circa 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

A tunycle of *red* satten for the Skons berar on Easter Evyn.

ij other tunycles of *divers colo's* oon to hallowe the Pascall, and the other for hym that bereth the Dragon on Easter Evyn.

ij grene copes of bawdkyn servyng for the Vigyll of Easter and Pentecost.

1402. LONDON, S. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

Duo vexilla processionalia pro tempore Paschali, de panno serico *viridis* coloris auripictæ . . . et unum aliud vexillum . . . *viridis* coloris.

Item, unum vexillum de serico *viridis* coloris pro magna cruce tempore paschali cum ymaginibus petri et paul auripectis in eadem.

Not much can be gathered, of course, from the colors of processional banners, though it is singular that *green* should have been the color, as the banners were not suitable for other festivals; else it might have been imagined that these banners, being the richest or most magnificent, were therefore used for the Queen of Festivals; but the inventory especially limits them to Easter,—*pro tempore Paschali*.

Passing on to what the Diocesan sequences prescribe, we find,—

SARUM. The De officiis ecclesiasticis tractatus orders,—

In Eastertide the ministers of the Altar at Mass use *white* dalmatics and tunicles, the rulers of the choir in like manner *white* copes.

*1406-1426. LONDON, S. PAUL'S. Bishop Clifford's pontifical enjoins *white* for the vigil of Easter, and throughout the whole of the octave.**1258-1283. WESTMINSTER ABBEY. The Liber Consuetudinarius directs,—*

But on the Sunday in our LORD's passion, and thence up to Ascension, . . . the vestments shall be altogether *red*, or *sub-red* (*rubia aut etiam subrubia*), or something of the kind (*aut etiam hujusce modi*).

*1239-1241. LICHFIELD. The Statutes of Pateshall enjoin for Easter-tide *white* dalmatics.**1340. WELLS. The Ordinale et Statuta give,—*

On Easter Even let everything be *red*.

On Easter Day let everything be *red*.

On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, let everything be *red*.

On Low Sunday (*dominica in albis*) let everything be in *white* vestments.

On all Sundays from the octave of Easter until our LORD'S Ascension, when the office is *de temporali*, let everything be in *red* vestments.

Circa 1337. EXETER. Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale* enjoins violet vestments to be used on the vigils of Easter and Pentecost only whilst the lessons and tracts are said,

. . . and *white* or *red* also on the vigil of Easter (except whilst the lessons and tracts are said, when they must be vested in *violet*), and on Easter Day, and from thence until the octave of the Ascension.

ASCENSION-TIDE, WHITSUNTIDE, AND TRINITY SUNDAY.

For Ascension-tide and Whitsuntide, and Trinity Sunday, we have again very sparse information. The following are the only inventories given by Mr. St. John Hope: —

1329. GLOUCESTER ABBEY.

Abbot John Wygmore gave Gloucester Abbey, among other vestments, one

de viridi samyt cum volucribus deauratis pro festo Pentecostes quam propriis manibus texuit et fecit.

1368. EXETER CATHEDRAL. Bequeathed by Bishop John Grandisson *inter alia*: —

Vestimenta pro diebus Epiphanie, Pentecostes, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; viz. Casulam, tunicam, et dalmaticam cum una capa de pannis rubeis et aureis qui vocatur de Nakta.

1448. THAME, OXON.

A sute of *grene* and *Black*, w^t *White* hundys and Chapletys of gold and Egylls of the Same; that ys to say, A Cope w^t all the apparel for prest Deken & Subdekyn, w^t a clothe to keep hem to syrve for *holy thorsday* and *Trynyte Sunday*.

A sute of *blew* imbrowyd w^t gold, w^t Antlopp & byrdes of gold, the Orffrayes w^t crocknys and sterres of gold. That ys to say ij copies w^t all the Aparell ffor Prest Dekyn, and Subdekyn . . . the which by assent off the Parysh syrooth for *Wilsonday*.

Circa 1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

ij grene copes of bawdkyn, sirvyng for the *Vigyll* of Easter and *Pentecost*.

The only Diocesan sequences which specifically mention these festivals are,—

1406–1426. S. PAUL'S, LONDON. White color must be used on the day and throughout the octave of Ascension, on account of the two men standing by in white, . . . and on the day of the Holy Trinity,—

and

Concerning *red* colour.—*Red* colour is like fire and blood: like the charity of the Spirit and the effusion of blood; therefore (it must be used) on the Vigil and day and throughout the week of Pentecost, up to the feast of Holy Trinity.

1258–1283. WESTMINSTER.

Moreover, by right of custom, it must be observed on the day and throughout the octave of the LORD's *Ascension*. . . . But on the day and within the octave of *Pentecost*, the aforesaid vestments, on the days on which they are not embroidered, shall be sparkling or red (*scintillata aut rubea*), or even of a *yellow* or *green* color (*crocei aut glauci coloris*).

It is rather difficult to say what "aforesaid vestments" are meant. The preceding paragraph gives for Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima *sub-red*, and for Lent and Passiontide *black* or *quasi-black*.

1340. WELLS.

On the vigil of the Ascension, and on the day and throughout the octave, and on the octave, and also on the Sunday within the octave, let everything, as well in vestments as on the altar, be in *white*.

On Sunday after the octave of the Ascension, let everything be *red*.

On the vigil of Pentecost and on the day, let everything be in vestments of a *red* colour, and throughout the whole of the week following.

On the day of the Holy Trinity let everything be *red*.

*Circa 1337. EXETER. White or bright (*albis seu candidis*) vestments are given for the octave of the Ascension.*

But on the vigil of Pentecost, after the lessons and tracts, let the priest be in a *red* cope at the blessing of the font; and from thenceforth let him with his ministers at mass, and afterwards at evensong be

in *red*; and throughout the whole week of Pentecost until evensong on the following Saturday . . . *red* vestments must be used. . . . But on the feast of the Trinity, if they have beautiful *green* vestments, with copes, tunicles, and dalmatics in sufficient number for such a feast, they must be used; otherwise let wholly *white* or bright (vestments), *alba vel candida*, be assumed.

THE SUNDAY COLOR.

Of the twenty-nine entries given in the inventories between the dates of 1345 and 1552, we have 6 *red*, 5 cloth of gold, 5 *green*, 3 blue, 3 checked, 1 *red* and white, 1 *white*, 1 *white* and *green*, 1 black, and 3 where the colors are not given. And the sequences give for Wells, Westminster, and Salisbury, *red*; Exeter and S. Paul's, *green*. At Lichfield the color was *pro voluntate sacristaræ*.

It must not, however, be forgotten that the number of saints commemorated, as well as local festivals, must have displaced the ordinary Sunday color to a very large extent. The Preface to the English Book of Common Prayer bears witness to the constant displacement of the lessons by the abundant commemorations.

We incline to the belief that practically in most country parish churches there was no settled Sunday color, but that the old and shabby vestments belonging to the Church were then put into requisition.

The Lichfield rule, according to the discretion of the sacristan, bears this supposition out, and of the twenty-nine entries above referred to, four, in fact, state the vestments to be old ones. S. Peter, Cheap., London, in 1431 had besides a complete set of blue vestments for Sundays an "olde cope of red clothe golde w^t orfeis of gren clothe of golde for sondaiies." Bassingboune, Cambs., in 1498 had three sets of vestments for Sundays and other double feasts; one set was of white silk, a second of red silk, and the third "of velewet wroughte in chekir."

These two examples prove that in those churches at any rate there was no settled color for ordinary Sundays.

We must also remember that large churches had many side chapels; and that except on great festivals, and then only if there were an abundance of vestments of the same color, would all the altars be vested or be served by priests in the same color.

FERIAL AND WORK-DAY COLORS.

Here again we have a great diversity of color. Between 1220 and 1552 we have ninety entries of wills or inventories, — 20 are red, 14 white, 12 green, 12 blue, 5 golden, 5 black, 3 checked, 3 yellow, 1 red and green, 1 purple, 1 red and blue, 1 white and blue, 1 "fusco tinto," and of 11 the colors are not stated.

This diversity of color for week-days admits of very easy explanation. As we have before remarked, the vestments, as they grew old and shabby, would be relegated to ordinary days. Then the same remark we made with regard to the Sunday color applies to work-day colors, and with increased force, — the number of altars in a church could only in very wealthy churches be all vested alike, except on great occasions. Thirdly, we must not omit taking into consideration the fact that the lesser altars, or altars in chapels, were often, if not always, dedicated in memory of some saint other than the patron saint of the church. Take S. Alban's Abbey, for instance. The inventory gives us for the reign of Henry IV. (1399-1413), under the heading of *Cotidianus apparatus pro minoribus altaribus*, no less than ten sets of vestments for different minor altars.

The vestments and hangings for S. Michael were *blue*. S. Edmund and S. Peter, *black*. S. Mary, *blue* as well as a *green* frontal for the same altar. The altar of the Annunciation of S. Mary, color not mentioned, but worked with crowns. S. Hugo, *white*. S. Amphibalus, color not mentioned, but having his passion figured thereon. In addition to the above there were seven *blue* albs for the before-mentioned altars, and a *black* frontal for the high altar.

This one instance, then, affords a very good support to the three reasons just given for the variety of the work-day colors. If this explanation be accepted as correct, then a further deduction must follow. The majority of the work-day vestments would be of the colors most generally used. For example, if green had been the general color throughout Trinity-tide, or nearly half the year, these would get shabbiest the quickest, and so the work-day vestments would be almost entirely green. If on the other hand the colors mostly used were red, white, blue, with cloth of gold whenever obtainable, and black for funerals, we should expect to find the work-day vestments almost entirely

of these colors. We stated previously that of the ninety entries given of work-day vestments, of eleven the colors were not stated. When the colors are not stated, the chances are that the vestments were either dark or sombre in color, or that they were so embroidered or worked that no special color was distinguishable. White, red, or green vestments would be certain to be so described, and so would those made of cloth of gold. Out of the ninety entries there are only twelve that are green. This is alone sufficient to condemn the theory that green was the universal color for Trinity season. It also condemns the other theory that red and white were the *only* colors used throughout the year. The fair deduction is that the colors generally in use were red, white, blue, and cloth of gold whenever possible, with black for funerals and requiems. Out of the seventy-nine entries of which the color is given, we find no less than fifty-eight belonging to the above colors.

The sequences prescribed for ferial colors are as follows: —

S. Paul's, London, *green* (though the inventories show red and white for that cathedral, and a red cloth of gold at S. Stephen's, Coleman Street).

Westminster says nothing of ferial colors, but the inventories show in 1388, blue cotidians, and in 1540, green for the high altar "when the quire doth fery," with crimson cotidians and a red sacrament-cloth for every day.

Lichfield ferial colors were *pro voluntate sacriste*.

Wells does not state the ferial colors, but the inventories for S. Cuthbert, Wells (1403), give black for ferial days for the high altar, and white and blue checked for the Trinity altar.

Exeter has green. The note at the end of the sequence directs that vestments should be put in use according to their beauty and value, to the sparing of the richer ones. The inventories give us red, green, and yellow for cotidians.

Lincoln sequence has no direction for ferials. The inventories give us red, white, and black as ferial colors, as well as a set of white fustian with black martlets.

Hereford sequence tells us nothing, but the inventories yield white for work-days at S. John Baptist, Bristol, in 1470.

Canterbury says nothing, and only one inventory — that of Cobham College, Kent — specifies ferial colors. Six sets are mentioned of as many different colors, — striped, green, yellow, red, purple, and white.

Norwich and Ely furnish no sequence, but the inventories show white at Lynn in 1495, and green at S. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, in 1473.

York, Durham, and Carlisle have no sequence; the inventories show Green at Notts (1434); gold-work at Meaux; red with white hangings at Durham; black and blue at Hulne; white at Jarrow; red at Coldingham; and green at Carlisle.

FEASTS OF OUR LADY.

The color for these feasts appears to have been, almost without exception, *white*. Mr. St. John Hope gives nineteen inventories between the years 1222 and 1550. Of these, fifteen give white, one red, one blue and green, one black, and one color not stated. The *red* entry is for the festival of S. Mary and S. Chad, at Lichfield.

The sequences of Sarum, S. Paul's, London, Westminster, *white*; Lichfield, Wells, Exeter, York, and Durham, all give *white* for all the feasts of Our Lady.

FEASTS OF VIRGINS NOT MARTYRS.

Both the inventories give, and the Diocesan rules unite in enjoining, white for these days, with the solitary exception of Meaux Abbey, which had, in 1396, blue.

APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, AND MARTYRS.

The colors for these feasts are enumerated in twenty-two entries of inventories and wills ranging from 1245 to 1557. These give us, for Apostles, red in every case but one,—that of the inventory of Exeter Cathedral, which has *purple* for the vigils of the Apostles; for Martyrs, red, except Exeter, which gives *golden*. Where special saints are named we have at Exeter vestments of red and gold (*rubeis et aureis*), as well as a chasuble (*de viridi et rubeo velvete checky*) for the Apostles Peter and Paul; and three albs (*de panno aureo*) for S. Peter. At Westminster, we have *red* for *Seynt Peter*, as well as —

A *chezabull*, ij tunycles with iij albys, ij stollyes, and iij phanams, all garrnysshed with perlys, which serue for the ij feasts of Saynte Peter.

S. Peter, we must remember, is the patron saint of Westminster Abbey.

The Westminster inventory also gives *red and blue* for *S. Alban's Day*; *yellow* for *Seynt John, Porte Latyn*; *crimson* for *S. Andrew's Day*; *purple* for *S. Lawrence's Day*. Lincoln Cathedral had for *S. Mark's Day* a cope paned with *white, red, and black silk*.

The sequences of Salisbury, Lichfield, Lincoln, Westminster, Wells, Exeter, London, and Canterbury give *red* for these feasts.

CONFESSORS.

The inventories yield quite a variety of colors. *Green* at *S. Paul's*, at Christ Church, Benedictine Monastery, Canterbury, and at Exeter Cathedral; *blue* at Westminster Abbey, *black* at Somerby in Lincolnshire. For special Confessors, we have *blue* for *S. Cuthbert*, at Durham Cathedral; for *S. Nicholas*, at *S. Margaret*, Southwark; for *S. Edward*, at Westminster Abbey; *white* for *S. Mary Magdalene*, at Cobham College, Kent; and *green* for the same saint at Westminster Abbey; *divers colors* for *S. Dunstan's Day* at Westminster Abbey. As one would naturally expect, there is a very full list of vestments at Westminster Abbey for the feast of *S. Edward*, who was its great benefactor; we have for that occasion a *blue chasuble, etc., with half moons and stars, a cope, chasuble, etc., straykd with yellowe and red*, five copes of Turkey satin, three copes of *yellow caddas*, two of *russet satin*, and *green curtains* for *Seynt Edward's dayes*. At Westminster, *S. Edward's Day* must have been kept with great pomp, and have had an octave assigned to it. This accounts for the variety of colors; the finest vestments, irrespective of color, would, we believe, have been used for the first days.

Westminster also had a suit of vestments of *darke chaungeable grene* for *S. Benet's Day*.

The sequences give for Sarum and *S. Paul's*, London, *yellow*.

Westminster, otherwise so full, ignores Confessors, except *S. Edward*, for which it provides *white*, — the festal color, — which is just as we should expect at the shrine of the Confessor; but that is no criterion as to the color for Confessors in general. Lichfield gives diverse colors (*varii coloris*) for all Saints, Confessors, and *S. Peter's chair*, — which we presume means any color, according to what vestments were in the vestry.

Wells directs that for Confessors *blue and green* be blended

in a comely manner, which we imagine to mean that if a green altar-cloth be used, then the hangings should be of such a blue as would harmonize, and *vice versa*, and so with the priests' vestments. We must remember that, especially in the darker shades of blue and green, the shades of one color run into the shades of the other. Certain shades of green in certain lights look blue, and certain shades of the one color by the addition of embroidery take on the shades of the other color.

Exeter directs *yellow or green*, which it declares are considered the same.

Lincoln enjoins *green or fuscus* (that is, greenish-brown, or a reddish-green).

FEAST OF THE TRANSFIGURATION.

The observance of this feast having been revived of late, we have examined the inventories and sequences, but with no practical result.

We have already seen at the commencement of this paper that the Edwardian Commissioners appear to describe the vestments in actual use on the day of their visit to a church. Among their list is one, dated Aug. 6, 1552, at Shenfield, Berks., giving us, —

The Upper hanging clothe of the hight ault^r paned wth Tisshew & Dunne velvet wth flowres. The lower hanging cloth of the said ault^r paned wth yellow Damaske & blacke Saten.

This is all that we can find in the inventories. The sequences are all silent. There is, of course, mention of vestments and of colors for the principal feasts, double feasts, and greater feasts, but the question would be, under what heading to class the feast of the Transfiguration. The rules evidently varied, nor is there sufficient evidence that these terms in the inventories, at all events, were used in their exact sense.

The only tenable conclusion seems to us to be, that the feast of the Transfiguration was not a feast which had endeared itself to English Churchmen, else we should assuredly have found it provided for in the Diocesan rules, and more certainly in the inventories or bequests, had the observance of it become entwined in people's memories or affections. This may also account for its omission in the First Book of Edward VI., and for

its relegation to the black-letter days in the present English Book. It must, of course, not be forgotten that though it was observed to some degree in the early Church, that it was not made general until A. D. 1457, and then only to commemorate the deliverance of Belgrade from the Turks.

CORPUS CHRISTI.

Only three inventories are given for this feast; two give blue, and one green. The one for Westminster is interesting.

1540. WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

ijj Copyss, a chezabull, ij tunycles, etc., of fyne bawdkyn, and the orpherys being of blewe velvett with swanyng, and this letter A of perle for Corpus Xpi day.

The sequence of Wells gives *red*; that of Exeter, *red* mixed with *white*, "on account of the similitude of bread and wine;" and that of S. Paul's, London, *white*.

FEAST OF THE DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH.

We have not noticed anything in the inventories. The feast occurring but once a year, we should not expect to find any entries. Each church would naturally use its finest vestments for that day,—cloth of gold, if it had them; if not, then its finest white vestments, unless the church was dedicated in memory to a saint having a proper color. The sequences of Sarum, and S. Paul's, London, give *white*, and that of Wells *blue and white*. Exeter declares that for the "Dedication of the Church all colours must be used at pleasure, indifferently, yet so that *white* and *red* are preferred."

FUNERALS AND REQUIEM MASSES.

For funerals and requiems black does not appear to have been the universal color, though usually prescribed by rules and found in inventories.

An inventory of 1245 of S. Paul's, London, gives us four copies of *black*, and a set of vestments of *white and black*; but a later inventory, 1295, gives *white*. Exeter Cathedral, in 1327, had *purple* vestments. The will of Thomas Bek, Bishop of

Lincoln, 1346, deeded vestments of *purple* velvet; and Bishop Grandisson, of Exeter, in 1368, bequeathed vestments of *violet* velvet. Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire (Cistercian), had a *green* set, as well as a *black*, in 1396. S. Mary's, Scarborough, had vestments of *blue*, as well as of *black*, in 1434. Bishop Wells, of Rochester, in 1443, left vestments of *green* velvet for his obsequies. Exeter Cathedral, in 1506, had four copes of *blue* as well as black ones. Salisbury Cathedral, in 1536, had for the high altar hangings of "*blue* velvet with ymages of souls coming out of purgatory on All Souls' Day." Durham Cathedral had a full set of requiem vestments of *blue* satin, with copes, etc., for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, in 1541. York Minster, in 1552, had *blue* vestments for "funerall dayes."

We thus get in the inventories black, white, purple, violet, green, blue, which, however, stand practically for black and white only, since purple, violet, and blue are declared by the rules to be the equal of black. As for green, the occasional use of that color may be accounted for by bequests of handsome green vestments for testator's obsequies, as in the case of Bishop Grandisson, of Exeter. These vestments would then pass into use on grand funerals, while the ordinary black set would be the one generally used.

The sequences give *black* for Sarum, S. Paul's, London, Lichfield, Wells "black and simple, even though it be for a king or a bishop," and Exeter (with the option of violet). Westminster is silent.

For the hangings of the Sepulchre of the LORD which it was usual to erect, we have given to us the following colors: S. Paul's Cathedral, 1245, *purple*, *purple* and *red*; S. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1384, *red* and *blue*, and *blue*; Cobham College, Kent, *white*, *green*, *golden red*. The ornaments of "The Vestry" of King Edward VI., late Henry VIII., 1547, included *white*, *crimson*, *purple*, and *cloth-of-gold* hangings for the Sepulchre.

From all this wealth of information, can we come to any sound conclusion as to what the English use was prior to the Reformation? It appears to us that we can; that through this profusion of colors, and amid this wealth of vestments for priest and altar for which England was always renowned, two colors stand out as eminently national,—red and white; and in a certain sense, as we hope to show hereafter, blue also. It

is quite true that we have given us, besides red, white, and blue, other colors, such as green, yellow, purple, violet, sub-red (*sub-rubei*), and black, besides combinations of all these colors. But upon examination, purple and violet may be classed as one color,—indeed, it is so classed by Bishop Clifford in the sequence he drew up for S. Paul's, London. Under the heading, "De Violaceo Colore" he immediately says, "Violaceus VEL purpureus fuscus," showing that he classed these two colors as practically the same, or that one could liturgically be substituted for the other. In fact, his own note at the end of that section is: "NOTE.—That Purple and violet are reckoned the same." As to green or yellow, he makes a similar observation: "And it must be known that yellow and green are reckoned the same." Sub-red will easily be allowed to be but a shade of red. We are now narrowed down to red, white, blue, purple (or violet), yellow (or green), and black.

If we examine the Diocesan sequences as far as we know them, we find that black was generally used only for requiem Masses or funerals, and not even on Good Friday, except in a half-hearted sort of way in Bishop Clifford's S. Paul's sequence.

On Good Friday (in die paraseves) *black* must be used; nevertheless it seems more convenient on Good Friday to use *red* as far as the solemn prayers, and afterwards *black*.

Red was undoubtedly the national use for Good Friday; but as black was the color for requiems, when what was called "JESU'S Mass" was said, it seemed appropriate to use then black also. This we conceive to be what was passing in the bishop's mind. The bishop, as we shall see, was a lover of the Roman use, and tried to get as much of it adopted as possible; but the national use of red for Good Friday was evidently so strong that he was bound not to ignore it, hence his ambiguous rubric. There does not appear to be anywhere else the slightest sanction of black for Good Friday.

Black was enjoined by the Lichfield sequence for Lent and for Advent. In ordering black for Advent, Lichfield was unique; the probabilities are that in reality dark-blue was used even in that Diocese. In ordering black for Lent, Lichfield had, however, the support of the Westminster rules, which directed black or quasi-black to be used for that period. White has, however, been proved to be the Lenten color in use even in Lichfield Dio-

cese and at Westminster. Hence in common practice black was restricted to funerals and requiems, and was not one of the colors of the Christian Year.

Coming now to yellow or green, which we have seen were interchangeable colors, we find that Confessors had this color distinctly assigned to them in every Diocese except Lichfield; but our knowledge of the Lichfield use is meagre. What we do know of it, however, points to a great similarity with the Sarum sequence; and to assign any other color to Lichfield than yellow or green for Confessors would be to make Lichfield a solitary exception. Until we know with certainty to the contrary, it will be more reasonable to include Lichfield as also prescribing yellow or green for Confessors, which colors for these feasts may therefore be said to be national.

For other feasts we do not find green given in the sequences of Salisbury, Lichfield, or Lincoln, but we do in those of Westminster, Exeter, London, and Canterbury. The Westminster sequence gave yellow or green as an optional color for Pentecost; the direction being —

But on the day, and within the octave of Pentecost, the aforesaid vestments (i. e. chasubles, copes, &c.), on the days on which they are not embroidered, shall be sparkling or red (*scintillata aut rubea*), or even of a yellow or green colour.

From this we may infer that jewelled and embroidered vestments were to be used as far as they went for the High Mass, and that if they were not plentiful enough, festal red vestments were to be used; and that if more were required, then the yellow or green vestments. In a large edifice like Westminster Abbey, with numerous altars and chapels, we can easily conceive that a great number of vestments would be in use simultaneously on Whitsunday and within its octave, and hence the above direction. But the proper vestments for this festival were evidently the handsomest ones,—those that were jewelled and embroidered, those made of cloth of gold, which often was shot through with red,—hence the description, *Scintillata aut rubea*. The green or yellow were evidently a make-shift, and so cannot properly be considered the Pentecostal color of the Westminster use.

The sequences of Exeter, London, and Canterbury, however, definitely order green for the *octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, from the first Sunday after Trinity to Advent*. The

Exeter rule for *Trinity Sunday* itself was, that provided a sufficient number of beautiful green vestments could be had, they were to be used; if not, then white ones must be wholly used. S. Paul's, London, and Canterbury, however, ordered *white* for *Trinity Sunday*.

It may perhaps be well to say a few words respecting these three sequences,—S. Paul's, London, Canterbury, and Exeter. The earliest is that of Exeter, *circa 1337*, and is in our opinion the parent of the other two. Mr. St. John Hope, it is to be regretted, does not give us the wording of the Canterbury sequence. He contents himself with saying that it is "almost identical" with that of S. Paul's, but does not give us even the points of difference; we have therefore only Exeter and London given us in detail. Now, in the colors these two sequences enjoin, in the way they are drawn up, nay, their very wording and style show, that one is but a copy of the other. The concluding words of the S. Paul's sequence prove the inference a true one: "Nevertheless, in the Church at Exeter on three feasts they use indifferently all colours at once, like as on the feast of All Saints and of Relics, and of the dedication of the Church." The rule referred to in the Exeter sequence is:—

But on the feast of All Saints, and of Relics, and of the dedication of the Church, all colours must be used at pleasure indifferently, *yet so that white and red are preferred*.

We see at a glance by this that S. Paul's copied Exeter, and also that there was an older use behind that of Exeter, which was that of red or white for these three festivals. In transcribing, Bishop Clifford, who was anxious to introduce the Roman use, left out the injunction as to red and white. The Exeter sequence refers at the outset to the custom of the Roman Curia of white, red, green, or yellow, violet and blue, or black. Bishop Clifford goes a step farther and heads his sequence, "Concerning the colour of vestments according to the Roman Curia." He repeatedly refers to the Roman Curia throughout his rules. He enjoins red for all Martyrs, and then goes on to make two exceptions,—Beheading of S. John the Baptist, and Holy Innocents, when he states that the Roman custom is *violet*, adding the absurd explanation, "because they went down into hell." He enjoins yellow for Confessors, the national use was too strong for him to do otherwise, but he puts

in a rider, "Nevertheless the Roman Church uses white on feasts of Confessors."

These three sequences — Exeter, S. Paul's, and Canterbury — are evidently Roman, and pretend to be nothing else in feeling or design. In these alone do we find violet or purple enjoined, instead of white for Lent. These three alone enjoin green for Trinity-tide and Epiphany Octave to Septuagesima.

Notwithstanding the self-evident desire of the framers to do everything according to Roman custom, they had, as is also evident, to compromise, and allow certain English and non-Roman colors. Further, had these bishops (Grandisson, Clifford, and Chichele) been but compiling, or putting in fitting order, sequences of colors according to the well-known use of their respective Dioceses, the inventories would show the use of the colors they prescribed.

The contrary, however, is the fact. The inventories of the London churches preceding, during, and after the Episcopate of Bishop Clifford, all give white as the Lenten color. There are no inventories of Canterbury churches prior to or during Archbishop Chichele's primacy. The earliest one is 1485. Chichele died in 1443; but this inventory gives a full list of *white* vestments for Lent, and so do all the subsequent ones. The few inventories of churches within the Diocese of Exeter also show the use of white, with the exception, as we should naturally expect, of the Cathedral itself, where, curiously enough, so late as 1506, or one hundred and seventy years after Bishop Grandisson's Episcopate, we find there were blue hangings for Lent, bearing the arms of this bishop, thus mutely testifying to this munificence and influence of that bishop in the matter of vestments. The *blue*, no doubt, can be considered to be violet or purple.

The influence of Bishops Grandisson, Clifford, and Chichele was not evidently wide-reaching in the substitution of the Roman violet or purple for the English white for Lent. Nor does their prescription of green for the Sundays after Trinity appear to have met with better success. They are alone among the Diocesan sequences in recommending green. Of the churches in their Dioceses, only twenty-nine inventories afford us any help for this period. Of these, there are two of London churches, three of Kentish churches, and one of Exeter Cathedral. Of these, one of the London churches has an old yellow cope, the

other has blue vestments and an old red cloth-of gold cope, two of the Kentish churches have green and one has an old red vestment. Exeter Cathedral has an old cloth-of-gold cope. These are the only examples affecting the Dioceses of London, Canterbury, and Exeter, and out of the six inventories we only have two using green as the Sunday color, and of these two one is a college chapel, Cobham College, Kent. One solitary parish church using green is all that can be produced in the Dioceses where the Diocesan sequence sets forth, as we have seen, that color for Trinity-tide. Of the twenty-nine examples given of the Sunday color, we have throughout England, between the years 1345-1552, only two other examples of the use of green,—Jarrow Priory, Durham, and S. Chad's, Shrewsbury.

To us the matter admits of a very easy explanation. It was a struggle even as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century between the Roman and the English colors. When there was a bishop rightly anxious for the ritual of the churches within his Diocese, if he happened to have a preference for the Roman use it was very natural that he should endeavor to secure its adoption as far as he could. He might be in a measure successful in his cathedral church, and should he present, or cause to be presented, vestments of a particular color, it is certain that his gift would not be refused. It seems, indeed, to have been the English custom to use the finest vestments a church possessed for the greater festivals, almost irrespective of their color; there would therefore be no rooted objection to using any vestments, even though their color might belong to the Roman sequence. Such is, we believe, the explanation for the occurrence here and there of vestments of colors other than those prescribed by the Diocesan rules, and of colors prescribed in these rules which ran counter to the national colors. The inventories prove very clearly that even in London, under the very shadow of S. Paul's, the colors Bishop Clifford sought to impose were not observed. If there is one thing that comes out with startling distinctness throughout the inventories gathered by Mr. St. John Hope, it is the color of white for Lent.

To maintain that green was the Sunday color in England is therefore hopeless. Green cannot therefore be classed as a national color. We have seen the same of purple, and that in practice black was restricted entirely to funerals and requiem Masses, and did not form part of the Christian Year. The only

remaining colors to be considered are therefore red, white, and blue.

Concerning red, we find it prescribed as the Sunday color by the sequences of Sarum, Wells, and Westminster. It was probably the color of the Lichfield and Lincoln sequences; it was the color for Good Friday in every sequence; it was the color for Maundy Thursday and Palm Sunday in every sequence but London and Canterbury, and in every sequence for Martyrs, Apostles, and Evangelists. From the inventories it appears to have been a common color for Epiphany, Easter Sunday, and Trinity Sunday. Of the twenty-nine inventories mentioning the Sunday color, eight give red. Red was the usual color for Holy Innocents and S. Stephen. From all of which it appears that with the exception of Advent, Christmas, Septuagesima to Passion-tide and Ascension-tide, red would be the color seen in nearly all the churches throughout England, because we must remember that many more Saints' days were then kept than now, and that consequently the red, which was universal, as we have seen, for Martyrs, Apostles, Evangelists, would displace any other color during Trinity-tide. Out of fifty-two Sundays in the year, we may therefore estimate that at least thirty Sundays were red; of the remainder Christmas was white according to every sequence, Septuagesima to Lent was either red or white, and Lent was white, so were the feasts of Our Lady, Virgins not Martyrs, and Ascension Day. Red or white were therefore, notwithstanding the prescribed sequences of London, Canterbury, and Exeter, the colors seen in almost all the churches in England and on every day throughout the Christian Year.

Blue or white seems to have been the color for Advent. Blue appears to have been a favorite color in the Northern Province.

It will have been remarked that after all only a few Dioceses have been mentioned as having sequences. Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, and Carlisle have not been mentioned. These had Benedictine chapters; and we strongly incline to the belief that they followed the use of Westminster. The Benedictine sequence of Westminster is the earliest complete sequence we have; it gives us white or red for every day except Lent, Michaelmas, and Confessors. It follows the national custom of yellow for Confessors, with blue or

green as optional colors; it departs from the national use only in enjoining black or quasi-black for Lent. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that the inventory of 1540 of Westminster Abbey does not give us a solitary black vestment for Lent. The list is a very full one, and all the vestments are white, with the exception of a yellow altar-cloth. Westminster Abbey had evidently fallen into line and adopted the national Lenten color. The Wells sequence (A. D. 1340) was evidently modelled on the Westminster one. Unfortunately there is a hiatus in the manuscript and thus the Lenten color is not given. We incline to the belief it was black or quasi-black; but here again the inventories contradict the sequence. An inventory of S. Cuthbert's, Somerset, Diocese of Wells, of 1393, gives us the vestments of the high altar, and of four side altars, and they are all *white*.

Red or white are thus proved to be the actual colors in use for every day in the year except Advent, Michaelmas, Confessors, and S. Mary Magdalene. As to Advent, the general use was either white or blue. It is quite true that the Lichfield sequence prescribes black; but "violet and black," we are told by Bishop Clifford, "were to be considered the same." If that was the case, we may fairly infer that blue in its darker shades was to be considered the equal of black. Bishop Grandisson so considered it in his *Ordinale*. If that inference is correct, we then get blue in its various shades of violet, purple, or dark-blue, as the Advent color, with the exception of Westminster, which ordered white. Yellow was the color of Confessors; Michaelmas was blue or white, so was the Nativity of S. John the Baptist.

The annexed table will show at a glance what were the colors in general use in England between the years 1220 and 1552,—the period covered by the inventories. Mr. St. John Hope, in his work, appends a comparative table, showing the colors as laid down in the sequences of Sarum, Lichfield, Lincoln, Westminster, Wells, Exeter, London, and Canterbury. The eighth and ninth columns show respectively the use suggested by Mr. St. John Hope, and the modern "correct" use as set out in Church kalendars and almanacs with little knowledge and no authority. We thought it more profitable to our readers to present them with a differently arranged table. Our reasons for that are, that of the eight sequences tabulated, one, that of Lincoln, is so imperfect as to be of no use, supplying but six

TABLE OF

	General English Use, A. D. 1220-1552.	Westminster Abbey Sequence, A. D. 1266.	S. Paul's, London, Sequence, A. D. 1406-1426.
ADVENT	Blue or Violet	White	Violet or Purple
CHRISTMAS	Gold or White	White	White
S. STEPHEN	Red	Red	Red
S. JOHN EVANGELIST	White	White	White
HOLY INNOCENTS	Red	Red	Violet
CIRCUMCISION	White	White	White
EPIPHANY AND OCTAVE	White	White	White
EPIPHANY OCTAVE TO SEPTUAGESIMA	Red or White	White	Green
SEPTUAGESIMA TO LENT	Sub-red or Violet	Sub-red	Violet
ASH WEDNESDAY	Red	?	Violet
LENT	{ White, with red crosses or stains	Black or Quasi-black	Violet
PASSION-TIDE	Red	Red or Sub-red	Violet
PALM SUNDAY	Red	Red or Sub-red	Violet
MAUNDY THURSDAY	Red, Red & White	Red or Sub-red	White
GOOD FRIDAY	Red	Red or Sub-red	Black
EASTER AND OCTAVE	Gold, Red, White	Red or Sub-red	White
LOW SUNDAY	Red or White	Red or Sub-red	White
ROGATIONS	?	?	Violet
ASCENSION AND OCTAVE	White	White	White
WHITSUNDAY	Red or White	{ Jewelled or em- brodered, spark- ling or Red	Red
TRINITY SUNDAY	Red or White	Red	White
TRINITY TO ADVENT	Red	Red	Green
TRANSFIGURATION	White	?	?
FEASTS OF OUR LADY	White	White	White
FEASTS OF VIRGINS NOT MARTYRS	White	?	White
S. MARY MAGDALENE	Blue	?	Yellow
NATIVITY OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST	Blue	White	White
CORPUS CHRISTI	Various	?	White
S. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS	Blue	?	White
ALL SAINTS	Red and Whi's	?	White
APOSTLES, MARTYRS, EVANGELISTS	Red	Red	Red
CONFESSORS	Yellow	?	Yellow
REQUIEM	Black	?	Black
DEDICATION FEAST	White	?	White
ORDINATION, CONFIRMATION, AND ALL EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS	?	?	?

COLOR-SEQUENCES.

Suggested English Use by W. H. St. John Hope.	Suggested American General Use.	Suggested American Use for Cathedrals and Wealthy Foundations.	
{ Blue, Violet, or Black	Blue	Blue	ADVENT
White.....	White.....	Gold or jewelled	CHRISTMAS
Red.....	Red.....	Red.....	S. STEPHEN
White.....	White.....	White.....	S. JOHN EVANGELIST
Red.....	Ked.....	Red.....	HOLY INNOCENTS
White.....	White.....	White.....	CIRCUMCISION
White.....	White.....	Gold or White	EPIPHANY AND OCTAVE
Red or Green	Red.....	Red.....	EPIPHANY OCTAVE TO SEPTUAGESIMA
Red or Violet	Sub-red or Red	Sub-red	SEPTUAGESIMA TO LENT
Red or Violet	{ White, with red crosses or stains	{ White, with red crosses or stains	ASH WEDNESDAY
{ Violet or Black (In practice White)	{ White, with red crosses or stains	{ White, with red crosses or stains	LENT
Red or Violet	{ White, with red crosses or stains	{ White and Red, with red crosses or stains	PASSION-TIDE
Red or Violet	Red.....	Red.....	PALM SUNDAY
Red or White	White with Red	White and Red	MAUNDY THURSDAY
Red.....	{ White, with red crosses or stains, and the Sanctuary Veil	{ White, with red crosses or stains, and the Sanctuary Veil	GOOD FRIDAY
White.....	White.....	Gold or jewelled	EASTER AND OCTAVE
White.....	White.....	White.....	LOW SUNDAY
Red or Violet	Sub-red or Red	Sub-red	ROGATIONS
White	White.....	Gold or White	ASCENSION AND OCTAVE
Red or White	Red.....	Red Cloth of Gold	WHITSUNDAY
Red or White	White.....	Gold or White	TRINITY SUNDAY
Red or Green	Red.....	Red.....	TRINITY TO ADVENT
..... ?	White.....	White.....	TRANSFIGURATION
White	White.....	Gold or White	FEASTS OF OUR LADY
White	White.....	White.....	FEASTS OF VIRGINS NOT MARTYRS
Green or Yellow	Blue	Blue	S. MARY MAGDALENE
White	White	White	NATIVITY OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST
..... ?	Red and White	Red and White	CORPUS CHRISTI
White or Blue	Blue	Blue Cloth of Gold	S. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS
Red and White	Red.....	{ Red Cloth of Gold { or checkered	ALL SAINTS
Red.....	Red.....	Red Cloth of Gold	APOSTLES, MARTYRS, EVANGELISTS
Yellow or Green	Red.....	Yellow	CONFESSORS
Black	Black	{ Black Cloth of Gold, { Gold, Black, { Black & White	REQUIEM
..... ?	White	Gold	DEDICATION FEAST
..... ?	{ White, with purple hangings	{ Purple Cloth of Gold { Gold and Cloth of Gold	ORDINATION, CONFIRMATION, AND ALL EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

colors, and that for minor feasts only. Of the use of Canterbury, all that Mr. St. John Hope tells us is that it was "almost identical" with that of S. Paul's, London; but he does not tell where it differed, consequently he tabulates it with that of London. We think it would have been better to have given it in full. The sequences that are actually given are thus reduced to six,—Salisbury, Lichfield, Westminster, Wells, Exeter, and London. Of these we have chosen for our table only two,—those of Westminster and S. Paul's, London. We have done so because we consider these two typical of the two uses striving for mastery in England. That of London is the most pronounced form of the Roman use; that of Westminster appears to us to represent more nearly than any other the English use. What we have of the Salisbury use is too meagre and indefinite to enable a proper sequence to be made out. The Westminster sequence does not contradict what we know of the Sarum sequence in any important particular. The only points where it differs are as follows: Red for Easter where Sarum enjoins white, and blue for Michaelmas where Sarum gives white. As before pointed out, it must not be forgotten that Westminster was a Benedictine foundation, and so were the cathedral chapters of Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester. The influence of Westminster, always great, must necessarily have been felt in these cathedrals and the Dioceses they represented. Again, the Westminster sequence is the oldest complete sequence we have; that of Wells was evidently modelled after it. It has therefore been taken in the preceding table as representing the Salisbury, Lichfield, Lincoln, and Wells sequences, so far as we know them, and also as the probable representative of the Benedictine foundations of Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester. The sequence of S. Paul's has been taken as representing the *official* sequence of S. Paul's, London, and the Canterbury and Exeter Dioceses. We say official advisedly, for the inventories in no way substantially bear out these sequences where they infringe on the national use. The very bishops who drew them left vestments for use on specified occasions when their rules enjoined colors different from the vestments bequeathed. We have further compiled a column showing what the inventories, wills, and sequences taken as a whole prove to have been the general use throughout England. We have given the use suggested for England by

Mr. St. John Hope, and have ventured to suggest an American use, one table showing the requirements for the ordinary churches, the other for cathedrals or where there are endowments, or better still, a wealth of self-denial. We have added to Mr. St. John Hope's list of days the Transfiguration, Corpus Christi, and the Dedication of the Church. The use we venture to suggest would practically entail four sets of vestments as a minimum to be striven for. By vestments we mean, not only the hangings of the altar, but the vestments of the priest, stoles, chasubles, copes, etc. The four would be festal white, festal red, blue in shades touching upon navy-blue, and for Lent dull white with red bordering on crimson. During Lent in churches where the eucharistic vestments are worn, plain linen ones worked with red would be the most suitable; and the altar-hangings might also be of linen or glazed linen, with a red cross, or red appliqué-work, and the candlesticks and ornaments vested in white. (S. John the Baptist Church, St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, has adopted this use.) We think that the old Lenten veil might with propriety be reintroduced, and have suggested its use on Good Friday. The veil drawn across the sanctuary on that day only would be a great object-lesson teaching how our High-Priest had entered within the veil.

With regard to the actual colors, we must bear in mind that the colors referred to in the inventories were not the present aniline colors, that the shades of different colors were few, and shading was obtained by embroidery and the addition of other colors either in combination on the same vestment or by juxtaposition in hangings or curtains. The Advent blue was not a sky-blue or a bright blue. The Advent vestments of the altar at S. Mary the Virgin, New York, are a good example of what we conceive the ancient Advent blue to have been.

One word with regard to cloth of gold. All cloth of gold was not, as is commonly supposed, yellow, or like gold in appearance. We have seen in Spain old cloth of gold that could be described by no other color than black. In the inventories under review we have given us red cloth of gold several times, green cloth of gold, crimson cloth of gold, whole cloth of gold, black cloth of gold, gold cloth, and cloth of gold. The black cloth of gold is especially mentioned as being for funerals. The cloth-of-gold vestments were used according to the color they

appeared to be. If red, for festivals where red was ordered, for example, Easter or Pentecost; if green, then where green was ordered, and so on. It was only when the cloth was wholly of gold that it shone like gold, that it superseded the color for the day. The following two entries will make this clear:—

1536. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

A costly cloth of gold for the high altar, for principal feasts, having in the midst images of the Trinity, of our Lady, &c., &c., having a frontlet of cloth of gold with Scriptures and a linnen cloth infix'd to the same, *ex dono ducis Lancastriæ*.

1536. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

A costly cloth of gold for the high altar for principal feasts, with images of the Trinity, our Lady, the four Evangelists, the Patriarchs and Prophets, with divers scriptures.

Indeed, Bishop Grandisson's *Ordinale* lays down at the outset that each of the colors — white, red, green or yellow, violet blue, or black —

must be so considered if the greater part, which is called the field of the cloth, be of it, although it be mixed with gold or another colour. Hence each of these colours must be used as is herein contained, yet so that when mixed with gold and more noble let them be worn on greater feasts in their place, and the plain and more simple on lesser feasts. Nevertheless, if they have vestments very precious and beautiful in appearance, as being embroidered with images or singularly adorned with divers colours, they must be used on the chief greater feasts.

Thus it is that in the suggested use for cathedrals, and where the means afforded, that we have set down for the great festivals gold or jewelled vestments to take the priority of the color of the day. Where possible, however, the vestments should be red cloth of gold on the days when the color is red, blue cloth of gold on the days when the color is blue, — leaving the whole cloth of gold to be the substitute for white only.

Purple we would reserve entirely and solely for bishops. Not only should their vestments be purple, or purple cloth of gold, but their stalls or chairs should be draped or hung with purple or purple and gold whenever and wherever they officiate.

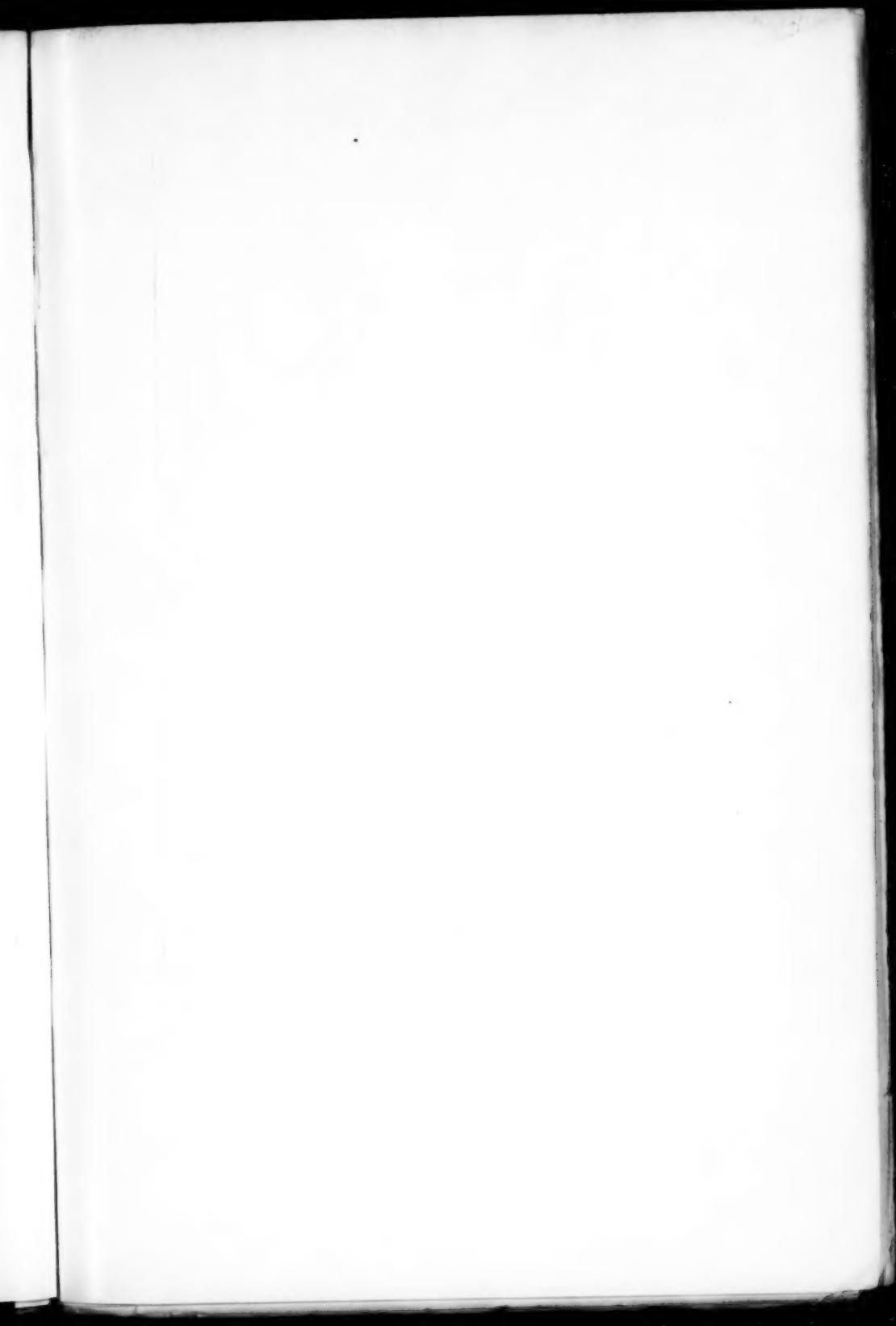
The Bishop of Lichfield, whose devoutness and spirituality none can call in question, and whose great organizing powers are perhaps superior to those of any of the present English

bishops, has of late set forth a sequence for use in his Diocese. If some of our bishops would condescend to take a like interest in the details of GOD'S worship, both priests and people under them might gain in devoutness, and they themselves perhaps be no losers. Whenever it has pleased the ALMIGHTY to reveal Himself, He has ever done so by a care of detail which is justly deemed miraculous. As Creator, His adherence to beauty in detail of form and color is as evident in the chip of granite from the mountain-side as in the Himalayan or Alpine ranges, in the butterfly's wing as in the eagle's pennon. As High-Priest and Bishop of our Souls, He disdained not to take order for the Ritual of His Church, nor to provide for it a national sequence of colors. By prophecy and by revelation has He told us of the life and color that shall be in the City of GOD, and in the array adorning His SON'S Bride, the Catholic Church. If the American Church is a branch of the Catholic Church, let her proclaim her nationality by her Use.

To many it may seem premature to speak of the adoption of a National Use, when such a multitude of churches plead poverty before the LORD, and show by outward visible signs their inward and unspiritual faith in CHRIST'S Presence, or even in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States being a National Church. But to those who believe that the promise is with that Church, notwithstanding her many errors, her sad blemishes, her lukewarm faith, her challengers without and her foes within,—to such believers the land to be possessed lies before them, even if they themselves shall be debarred from entering therein. The day is coming when priests and people shall vie with each other in proving that the LORD may be worshipped in the beauty of holiness, that the ritual of the KING OF KINGS can be carried out without neglecting the weightier matters of the law of both covenants. The day is coming when bishops and priests will not be ashamed of proclaiming that they claim the allegiance of Americans because they are bishops and priests, not of a foreign power, but of a National Church. As an outward token of that claim, may the day soon pass when bishops and priests shall deem the ritual of that National Church unimportant; that anything is good enough for the American Church, that any livery is suitable, even that of her enemies, whether issuing from Rome or Geneva; but that all will take thought of how they may have their share in preparing

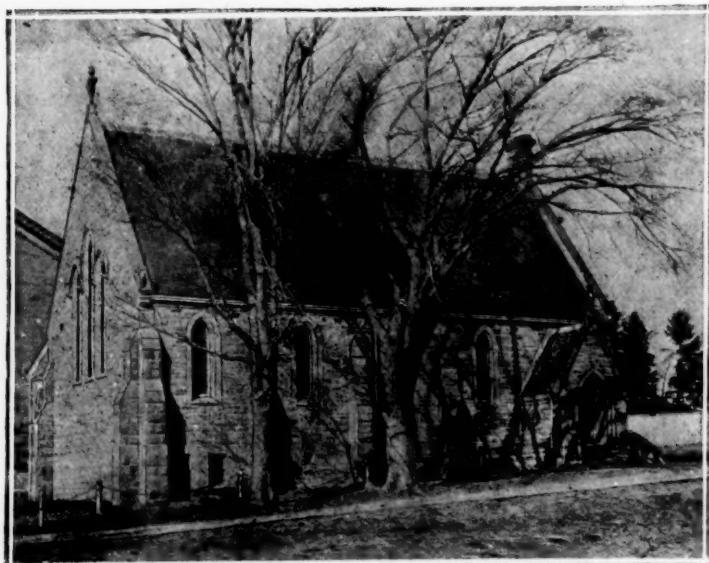
for that day when the American Church shall, in company with her sister Churches, be presented to the Heavenly Bridegroom, humble in her estimation and mien, yet proud in her adornment. Then shall she be brought in company with her fellow-virgins, the Churches of sister nations, all glorious within, her clothing of wrought gold and her raiment of needlework, unto THE KING, in whose outer courts she had worshipped, if feebly at first, yet with a love ever-growing and a reverence ever-increasing.

ARTHUR LOWNDES.

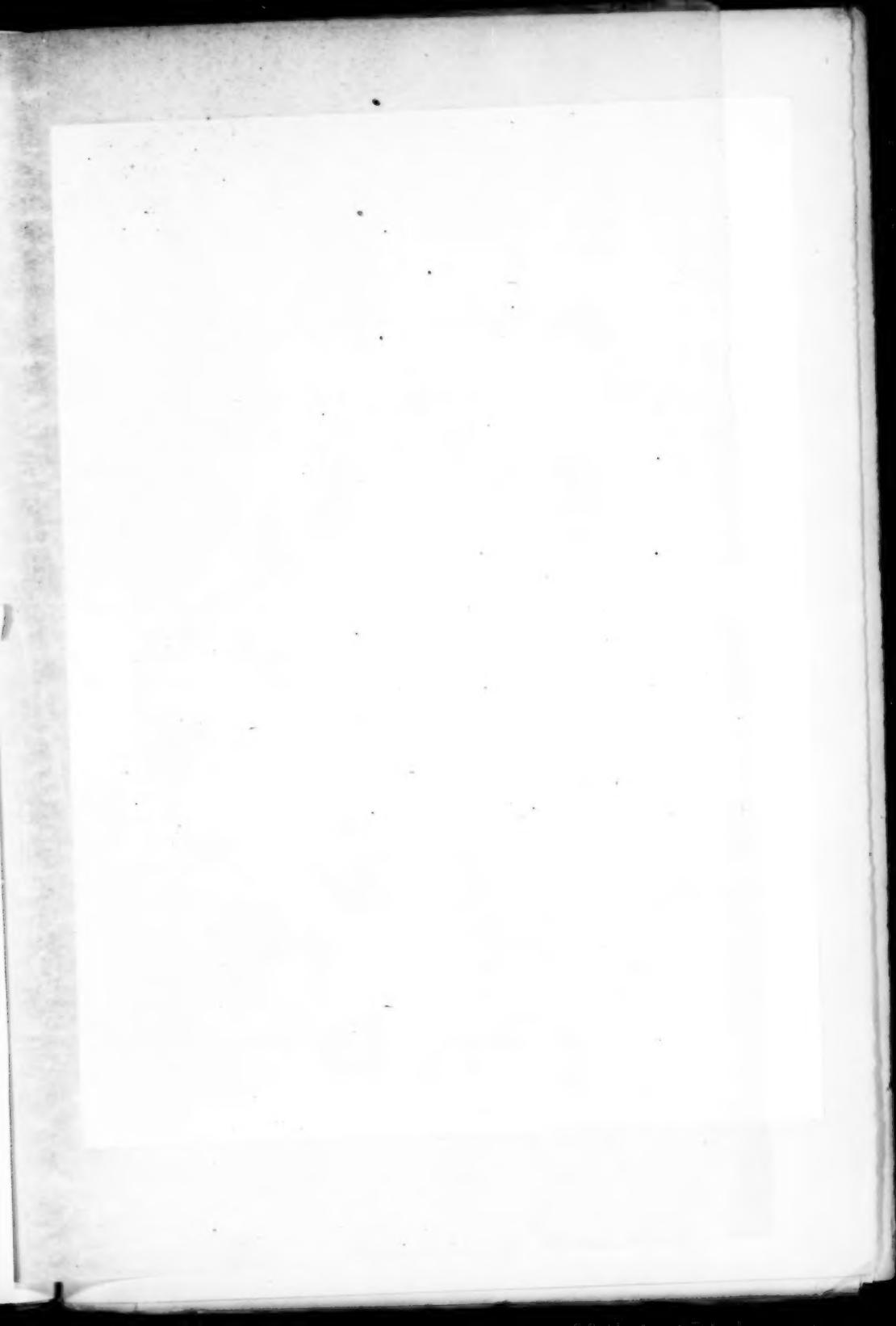


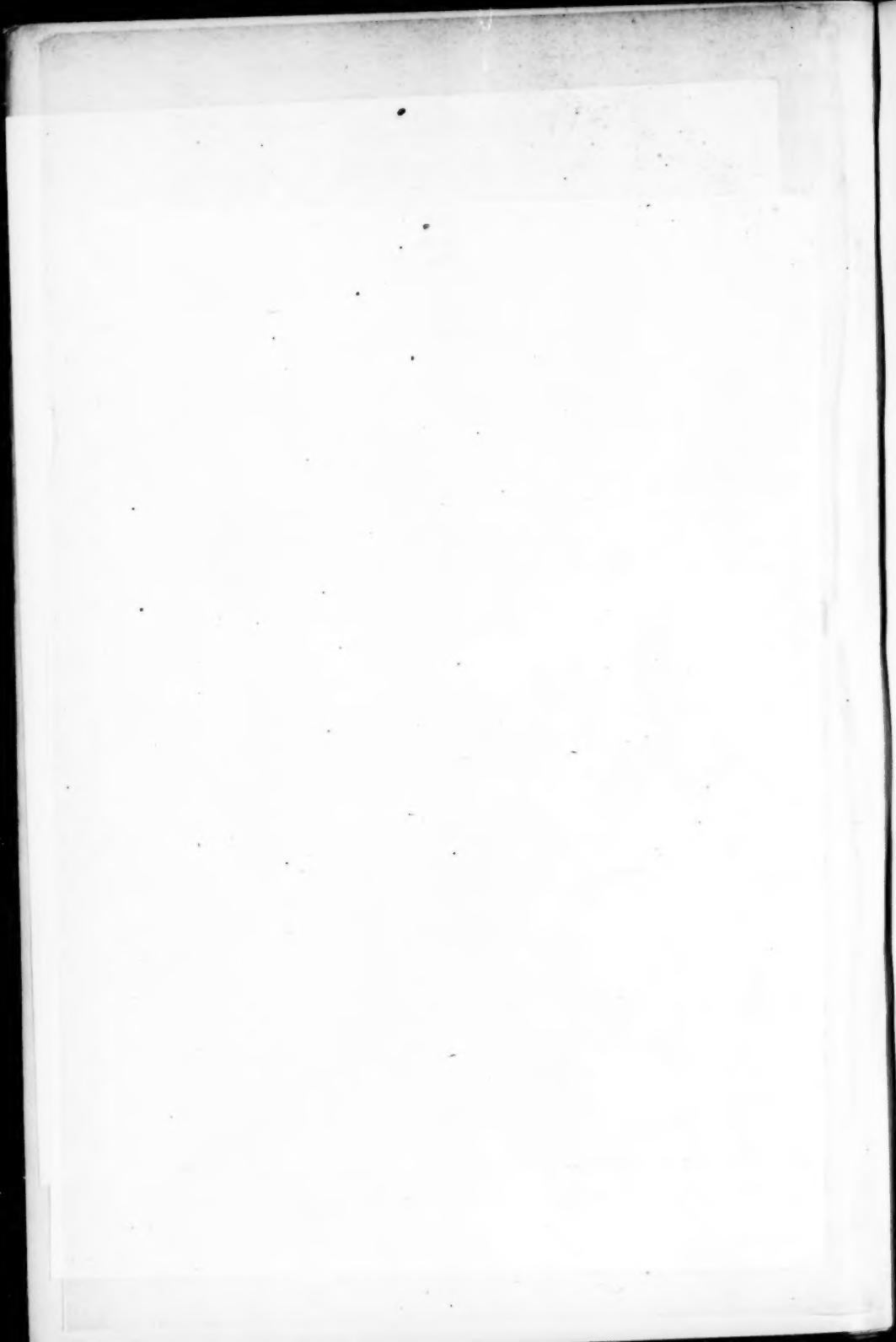


CONVOCATION HALL, KING'S COLLEGE, WINDSOR, N.S.



HENSLEY MEMORIAL CHAPEL, KING'S COLLEGE, WINDSOR, N.S.





King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE FAILURE OF THE FIRST TO THE CLOSE OF THE
SECOND ATTEMPT TO REMOVE THE COLLEGE TO HALIFAX,
1824 TO 1836.

DR. JOHN INGLIS was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia and its dependencies on Palm Sunday, March 27, 1825. His Lordship arrived at Halifax, N. S., on November 19 of the same year, in H. M. ship "Tweed." He landed on the 20th, under a salute of cannon and ringing of bells. On December 11, he was sworn in as a member of H. M. Council, and took his seat next after the President.¹

The revenue of the See of Nova Scotia at this period consisted of £2,000 sterling, paid by the Imperial Government from a Parliamentary grant, to be continued during the lifetime of Bishop John Inglis; together with £400 sterling from the American Bishops' Fund, administered by the S. P. G., and the rental of a farm near Windsor, purchased for the See by the S. P. G.

That this grant of £2,000 sterling a year toward the revenues of Bishop Inglis was contingent, appears from a despatch from Lord Goderich to Sir P. Maitland, dated March 29, 1832.² Referring to certain "Deanery Lands" in Nova Scotia, his Lordship says, "I am much gratified at the manner in which you express yourself in regard to the important object of endeavoring to render those lands available in due time to the support of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. . . . Since my despatch of July 29, 1831, was written, we have determined to continue to submit to Parliament, during the life of the present Bishop, an annual vote for £2,000 on account of his salary; and although it is obviously impossible for me to answer for the result of that proposition, I will not willingly anticipate its rejection."

This contingency in respect to the "salary" of Bishop Inglis must have been known to his Lordship in 1832. Many men

¹ Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*.

² This despatch is in the archives of Nova Scotia.

would have been influenced in their actions by the tenor of Lord Goderich's despatch to Sir P. Maitland, the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Board of Governors of King's College. But in the proceedings for the virtual annihilation of King's College, which will soon be narrated, the possible loss of his "salary" does not appear to have influenced the Bishop in his endeavors to uphold the institution he was charged to protect and nurture. As this brief narrative proceeds, his character will glow with a light hitherto obscured.

Immediately after his consecration the Bishop visited Cambridge and devoted a large share of his attention to the interests of the Colonial University his father had been instrumental in founding. He communicated with Mr. Whewell, subsequently the well-known "Master of Trinity," respecting the selection of a competent graduate to fill the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He also entered into arrangements with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge with regard to a grant of £500 sterling. From the S. P. C. K. he received the following resolution, which it is proper to introduce, in order to explain the apparent arbitrary action of the Bishop in practically putting on one side the authority of the President of the College.¹

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, July 5, 1825.

At a General Meeting,—

The secretaries reported that the Standing Committee, having taken into consideration the reference made to them by the Society respecting the best method of applying the sum of money voted for the use of King's College, Nova Scotia, had adopted the following resolution:—

That the sum to be granted to King's College be £500, and that it be employed in providing for two or more Tutors whose especial business it shall be to superintend the morals and religious instruction of the Divinity students, under the direction of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese.

Agreed to concur in this resolution.

ARCH. CAMPBELL, *Secretary.*

Although this arrangement might be considered as infringing the privileges of the President as defined by the statutes, for the President was also Professor of Divinity, yet it must

¹ Documents in the Library of King's College.

have appeared necessary to the Bishop on account of the missionary duties undertaken by the President and Vice-President, coupled with the well-known want of discipline in the College, so amply illustrated by documents now deposited in the College Library.

Various circumstances were favorable for this temporary but necessary innovation. Neither Dr. Porter nor Dr. Cochran could object, for they were both infringing the Statutes by undertaking the duties of salaried missionaries of the S. P. G., which prevented them from exercising proper oversight within the limits of the College. There was no Dr. Croke, eager to assert the privileges of the Board of Governors, and refuse to accept conditional aid, which practically introduced an outside body as a factor in the management of the College. The protest of Chief-Justice Blowers, combined with the refusal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had silenced for the present all attempts to move the College to Halifax. But perhaps more potent than all was the success of Bishop Inglis in securing funds in England to place the College in an independent position. So long as the Board of Governors recognized the liberality of the S. P. G., the S. P. C. K., and numerous benefactors, without disputing the attached conditions, the University would enjoy for a term of years pecuniary resources sufficient for the requirements of the College. With the new professor named by Mr. Whewell, the bishop sent the following letter to the Secretary, pointing to the residence in College of the new professor and the new tutor, as details of paramount importance.

200 PICCADILLY, July 28, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,—This letter will be handed to you by Mr. Pierce Morton, who has been most strongly recommended as a fit person to fill the office of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at King's College.

I have not failed to acquaint Mr. Morton that he may not be eligible to the office until he has taken the Master's degree, but have encouraged him to hope for an acting appointment from the Governors, which I hope they will have no difficulty in granting. I have also ventured to engage to Mr. Morton a salary of £400 per annum from July 1, 1825, payable from funds which I have collected here, without any interference with the funds now in the hands of the Governors and already appropriated.

I have to request that you will present Mr. Morton to the Governors, the President, and Vice-President, and I hope the Governors may be pleased to direct that a set of rooms may be fitted up at their expense for Mr. Morton, *and another for the Tutor*, if, as I hope, he should now sail for Halifax, even if it should be necessary to displace two of the elder undergraduates, who may be otherwise lodged, in or out of the College as the necessity may be,—for I have no doubt they will consider the *residence of the Professor and Tutor of paramount importance*.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

(Signed) JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

JAMES COCHRAN, Esq.

P. S. I hope the Governors will approve of my having forwarded an ample supply of books and instruments for Mr. Morton's various lectures, the expenses of which will be defrayed from the funds I have lately collected. Be so good as to introduce Mr. Morton to Archdeacon Willis.

It now remains to describe the results of Dr. Inglis's efforts in England, in favor of the College, prior and subsequent to his consecration.

BENEFACTORS OF THE COLLEGE IN ENGLAND.

Dr. Inglis sailed for England in the spring of 1824, commissioned by the Governors to solicit contributions in aid of King's College. A paper was prepared by the Rev. C. Benson, outlining the objects and needs of the College, and soliciting subscriptions. This paper was printed and widely circulated. The special points it advanced are embodied in the subjoined paragraphs.

Without any imputation of improper hostility to other forms of doctrine and Church government, it may be fairly stated to those who love their own holy faith and discipline, that if the College at Windsor be not supported by the pious and benevolent, an attachment to the principles of the Church of England and of our happy Constitution must, in Nova Scotia, decline. There are other establishments rising up, which are not conducted upon the same principles, and from them even the children of the members of the Church of England must, if this University fall, be compelled to derive their education. Or if they do not resort to Dissenting establishments of Nova Scotia, they must

gather their knowledge and form their sentiments in the Republican Colleges of the United States of America. Thus nurtured and instructed, it is natural to conceive that they will imbibe opinions which are anything but favorable to the religious and political institutions of England.

It is impossible to blame others who conscientiously endeavor to propagate their own views of the Gospel and Government, even where they differ from our own; but surely if we have any reverence for our own, or any real belief in their truth and excellence, we must conscientiously contribute to prevent the utter ruin of an University which is their principal support in a very important Province of the empire. *We shall do our utmost to provide a sound Episcopal branch of the Church of CHRIST in America, with the means of educating for itself, what it so greatly wants, a succession of sound Episcopal ministers.*

The contributions received were as subjoined:—

S. P. G., £500 sterling for general purposes; this grant was continued for twenty years, or until 1846.

S. P. C. K., £500 sterling for special purposes, as stated in the resolution already quoted, for one year.

Private Contributions, £2,823 sterling, together with donations of books to the Library.

The funds of the College in 1826 amounted to:—

Invested in England	£4,123	11	1	stg.
Invested in Nova Scotia	1,239	13	10	cy.

The income this year was as follows:—

From the S. P. G.	£500	stg.
" " S. P. C. K.	500	" one year.
" " Imperial Government	1,000	"
" " Provincial Government	400	"
<hr/>		
Interest on Investments in England and Nova Scotia . . .	£2,400	"
	200	"
<hr/>		
Total income	£2,600	"

Exhibitions granted by the S. P. G. to the College and Collegiate School, including £50 to the Chaplain of the University, averaging for ten years, £600 sterling. Foundation scholarships, four in number, £20 each, £80.

Mr. Pierce Morton of Trinity College, Cant., was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, also Fellow of King's College. The Rev. W. B. King, B. A., of King's College, was appointed tutor, and a Fellow of the College.

Professor Morton's stay in the country was of short duration. He left the Province suddenly in April, 1826; and Mr. John Stevenson, assistant in the Academy, was temporarily appointed to take his place at a salary of £200 per annum. Professor Morton subsequently presented a valuable collection of scientific instruments and books to the College. In 1827, the sum of £899 was expended in putting the College building in thorough repair, together with £125 on the Academy for a similar purpose.

ABROGATION OF OBNOXIOUS STATUTES.

In January, 1827, the Visitor called the attention of the Board to the necessity for renewed attempts to abrogate certain obnoxious statutes which interfered with the usefulness of the College, and did not add to the security of the Church in Nova Scotia. The Board were unanimous in concurring with the representations of the Visitor, and forthwith appointed a Committee to report on the matter to the Board.

In February the Committee reported. The Report was accepted, and the Visitor was requested to transmit the Resolutions of the Board, with a copy of the Amended Statutes, to the Patron, with an earnest solicitation that his Grace would be pleased to assent to the same. At the meeting of the Board in October, "the Visitor stated to the Board that in compliance with their directions he had transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Charles Manners Sutton) the several alterations of the Statutes, which, his Lordship stated, had been received by his Grace.

"The Board directed the Standing Committee to adopt the most effectual means for giving publicity to the said several alterations." Further alterations suggested by the Visitor in December, 1828, opened the Arts Department to students of all denominations, and did away with all subscriptions to "tests" for degrees or honors to students in Arts.

The Visitor and the Chief-Justice were appointed a Committee "to communicate the additional alteration in the Statutes to his Grace the Patron (Dr. William Howley), and to solicit his Grace's approbation thereof."

It was intimated to the Board that the Archbishop would consent to all the alterations except the clause which exempted the Professors and Fellows from subscriptions to the XXXIX. Articles. The Bishop was requested to write to the agent of the

Board in London, to the effect that this clause would be withdrawn from the consideration of his Grace. Subjoined is the correspondence.

Letter from the Bishop.

HALIFAX, Oct. 19, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,—At a meeting that was lately held by the Governors of King's College, it was unanimously resolved that the alteration of the College Statute respecting Professors and Fellows,—Book I., Title 7, Section 5,—which alteration made it unnecessary for a person elected to a professorship to subscribe the XXXIX. Articles, should be wholly annulled and withdrawn from the consideration of his Grace the Patron.

The original Statute will therefore remain exactly as it was, and as Professors and Fellows are used nearly as synonymous terms in this and in other Statutes, subscription will be required from both.

You are therefore, with his Grace's permission, to withdraw the alteration from the further consideration of the Patron.

A more formal authority will be sent probably to you, but I apprehend this letter will be a sufficient warrant for your acting immediately.

You will also be so good as to present the dutiful acknowledgments of the Governors for the kind attention his Grace the Patron has been pleased to give to the Statutes which have been transmitted for his Grace's consideration. I remain, my dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

(Signed) JOHN NOVA SCOTIA, *Visitor.*

JAMES COCHRAN, Esq.

Letter from Mr. Joshua Watson.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Archbishop has done all I believe that was wished. A formal consent perhaps was not necessary; and he might perhaps have awaited the arrival of the more perfect document promised; but to mark his desire to meet most entirely the Bishop's views as represented from you, his Grace has by his signature immediately expressed his approval, so as at once to validate the Statute, instead of leaving the confirmation to be inferred from his silence, or effected only by efflux of time.

The Archbishop has retained one copy of the papers,¹ and the rest are now returned by Yours, dear Sir, very truly,

(Signed) JOSHUA WATSON.

JAMES COCHRAN, Esq.

Tuesday, June 22, 1830.

¹ Copies of the letters are in the Library of King's College, together with a document containing the alteration of the Statutes submitted to the Archbishop, and bearing the signature: Approved. W. Cantuar.

All the objections urged by Dissenters were now officially removed from the Statutes of the College except those which required the professors and the President to be members of the Church of England. With the regulations connected with the Divinity students and degrees in Divinity, no objections could rest on a substantial foundation, because it was generally admitted that the College was established for the primary object of educating clergymen for missionary work in the North American Colonies in connection with the Church of England. The removal of all tests on admission, and all tests on the taking degrees in Arts, opened the College to Dissenters of all denominations, with freedom to attend their own places of worship, subject only to the consent of the President, who would be guided by the wishes of parents or guardians. But the question of discipline remained.

EFFORTS TO RESTORE DISCIPLINE.

After the exertions made by Bishop Inglis to secure suitable supervision over the students in residence, and particularly the Divinity students, by the appointment of a resident professor and a resident tutor to look after "the morals and the religious instruction of the Divinity students," it was to be expected that discipline would have become a marked feature in the life of the College. It happened, however, that the contrary result took place. The students banded themselves together under solemn obligations not in any case to answer inquiries respecting outrages committed by any of their body. There were twenty-four students in residence at this period; and from 1826 to 1829, when the steps about to be recorded took place, the life of Dr. Porter was made almost unbearable, the reputation of the College became clouded, and it was feared that some of the young men were drifting rapidly down stream.

On July 22, 1829, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, as President of the Board, called a meeting of Governors to hear a letter from the Visitor concerning certain "flagrant offences" that had been committed, beyond reasonable doubt by some of the students.

The letter recounted the result of an inquiry his Lordship had been called upon to make. In this communication the Visitor stated that all the students "seem to have been long impressed with a notion that by banding together, and refusing to give

information that might fix the offence, by something like legal proof, upon the real offender, any act, however atrocious, may be perpetrated with impunity."

The Visitor further stated: "I hope your Excellency and the other Governors of the College will agree with me in the opinion that it is more important to destroy this delusion than to ascertain the persons who are guilty of the offences recently committed. . . . It seems equally desirable that this first attempt to put an end to a most mischievous delusion, from which the College and its discipline have received very serious injury *during many years*, should have all the weight it would carry with it as the act of the full Board of Governors." From the statements on record it appears that some of the outrages "were only links in a series of disorderly and revengeful acts, originating in the displeasure of the students, conceived against the officers of the College in consequence of their having been obliged to inflict punishment in support of the statutes which had been flagrantly violated."

The Bishop did not fail to point out the weakness of the delusion which guided a body of young men — each of whom, on matriculation, had signed an oath or declaration that he would obey the Statutes — in subsequently considering themselves at liberty to break the oath or declaration.

Dr. Cochran was an old man; in the exercise of his duty, he had reported midnight visits to public-houses in Windsor, with the usual results. In revenge, this old man was harassed incessantly, and at length his lecture-room furniture was destroyed. Dr. Porter had long suffered almost intolerable annoyances. The only excuse the offending body of students could offer for their long silence, when inquiries were instituted, was that they "were called upon by the Governors to do what, in the opinion of the students, would be ungentlemanly."

The Visitor, in his letter to the President, ordering the confinement of the students within bounds until the matter was cleared up, used arguments which might have touched the most thoughtless and heartless.

In the first place, he said, I wish to assure them of the deep affliction which the late transactions at the College have brought upon me and, doubtless, upon every friend of the institution. They will surely believe that it must be a mortifying consideration to those friends,

that while continuing their earnest exertions to uphold and support the College, in the midst of many difficulties that are increasing from the rise of rival institutions, the very persons for whom the benefit of our efforts is intended, are doing their utmost to make those efforts unsuccessful, and as far as they have power, to destroy the College by their shameful conduct, which has already caused reproach far and near, in this and in the neighboring colonies.

The system of terrorism was effectually checked by the measures firmly taken by the Visitor. The students were confined within College bounds, on pain of expulsion, until such of them as did not take part in certain outrages specified, or have any knowledge of the same, had signed a declaration to that effect. Eighteen of the resident students, after considerable delay, signed the document. These were immediately released.

The result of further inquiries led to the following sentence being adopted by the Board: one student was expelled; four were deprived of "the last four terms and banished for the next four terms." The sixth had stated upon his honor that, although declining to sign the paper with the eighteen before-mentioned, "he had himself taken no part whatever in the late offences, either in the preparation for them, or in the execution of them." He was thereupon released from confinement.

In later years this most pernicious system of banding together to conceal the perpetrators of delinquencies injurious to the standing and dignity of the institution, was revived.

Being largely a theological college, the effect on the interests of the University was most prejudicial. It served many as a lever by which they sought to uproot an educational establishment which apparently did not possess within itself the power to arrest flagrant courses in College life, or to remove a most humiliating reproach to the Church, of which the College claimed to be the handmaid.

THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND ATTEMPT TO REMOVE KING'S COLLEGE TO HALIFAX.

At the time when the correspondence between the Board and the Archbishop of Canterbury, respecting the abrogation of certain statutes, was taking place, there was written, in London, an ominous despatch, the beginning of a series.

This was a period of reform in England. In 1828 Lord John Russel carried the "Test Acts Inquiry Committee," which led to their repeal. In 1831 the "Reform Bill" came before the public. The "Irish Church Question" was initiated, and "Municipal Reform" as to tithes in England and Ireland drew men's attention to Parliamentary grants for special educational or religious purposes. The troubles in Canada, which culminated in the "Rebellion of 1837," were gathering and growing. All of these home questions caused men to disbelieve in the theory that "CHURCH and STATE" were essential for human progress, and that the measure of loyalty to the throne would be in exact proportion to the influence of the established religion.

Hence the political reasons which led to the following sustained series of despatches from successive Secretaries of State to the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia, with respect to King's College, and the Parliamentary grants to the S. P. G. for missionary purposes.

THE DESPATCHES.

No. I. Despatch from Sir George Murray, Secretary of State, to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, dated Aug. 31, 1829. The despatch contained instructions to renew the attempts which had been frustrated a few years before, to remove the College to Halifax.

No. II. This despatch was dated July 31, 1831; it was from Lord Goderich, announcing the probable reduction of the vote in Parliament for King's College, and instructing Sir P. Maitland to consult with his Council respecting the propriety of moving the collegiate establishment at Windsor to occupy the building called Dalhousie College, at Halifax. Both of these despatches were communicated to the Board on Dec. 7, 1831.

No. III. A third despatch to the same purport, dated Jan. 30, 1832, was addressed by Lord Goderich to the Lieutenant-Governor.

No. IV. On Aug. 2, 1832, Lord Goderich wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor on the same subject, announcing that £1,000 would be granted to King's College for 1833, £500 for 1834, and then the annual Parliamentary grant would cease.

No. V. In November, 1833, Lord Stanley followed suit on the same subject.

No. VI. On April 30, 1835, Lord Glenelg brought matters to a crisis by instructing the Lieutenant-Governor "to convey to the Governors of King's College the earnest recommendation of his Majesty that they should *surrender the charter* which they at present hold." This was serious. It aimed at the root of things. The Board quickly "reported" on the matter.

No. VII. On Aug. 20, 1835, a despatch from Lord Glenelg was received by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Colin Campbell, referring to a letter written by Bishop Inglis and expressing the hope that the Report of the Committee appointed by the Governors of King's College would soon be transmitted.

This despatch seemed to show that Lord Glenelg was very much in earnest.

No. VIII. Lord Glenelg to Sir Colin Campbell, dated "Downing Street, Nov. 4, 1836," commenting on the "Report of the Governors of King's College," and the address of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia on the whole matter.

The address of the Legislative Council contained the following statements, which must have surprised his Majesty's Secretary of State:—

It was evidently supposed by his Majesty's Secretary of State that the union of the Colleges had been the subject of much controversy in the Province, and earnestly desired by the Legislature, and by a large portion of the people of Nova Scotia; and that the surrender of the charter of King's College was equally desired as the first necessary steps for the accomplishment of the union.

The Council beg to assure your Excellency that such surrender was never spoken of, or, as far as they know, ever thought of until suggested by the above despatch.

The union of the two Colleges, though brought to the notice of the House of Assembly in 1830 by Sir Peregrine Maitland, was never made the subject of full consideration in that House or in the Council until the present session; and any controversy respecting it is totally unknown in Nova Scotia.

The declaration from "his Majesty's Council in Nova Scotia" was in open and pronounced opposition to the conclusion advanced respecting the feelings of the public in Nova Scotia concerning King's College and its union with Dalhousie,

presented in the several despatches of successive Secretaries of State, and persistently urged from year to year.

Nearly all of these papers have been printed in the Appendices to the Proceedings of the House of Assembly for the period to which they relate. There is one, however, which has never been permitted to see the light. The replies of the Board of Governors are lengthy and exhaustive. The aggregate would fill a small octavo volume. It must suffice to say that a majority of the Governors respectfully declined to surrender their charter,¹ and that his Majesty's ministers had to find their way out of a very disagreeable position, into which they had placed themselves by assuming a too high-handed and dictatorial attempt to dispose of matters over which they had practically no control; for after the withdrawal of the Parliamentary grant of £1,000 a year from the University, and the annual grant to the S. P. G., out of which the scholarships to the College and exhibitions to the Academy, twenty-four in number, had been paid, the Governors evidently felt that her Majesty's ministers had themselves virtually severed their connection with King's College.

THE RIGHTS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

When matters had reached this stage, and the Governors were pressed to surrender the charter of the institution they were appointed to nurture and maintain, it was time to act defensively and fall back on their reserves.

¹ In answer to the recommendation that the Governors should surrender their charter, it was stated in reply:—

"To a recommendation so directly and strongly urged, the Governors would necessarily be prompt to yield a ready obedience, if the measure were in point of fact practicable, or could be thought compatible with their duties as trustees of a public charity.

"They act as Governors merely in consequence of the official appointments they hold; their resignation, unless strictly legal, would not bind their successors, nor affect the Corporation; and as the Corporation, even if the charter were resigned, would continue to exist under the Provincial Statute, it is humbly conceived that by an Act of the Legislature alone can they be empowered to relinquish their office as Governors, or to dissolve the Corporation *they were appointed to maintain.*"

No allusion was made in the Governors' reply to Lord Glenelg's demand that the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury would be required to enable them to surrender the charter. This was held in reserve.

The matter excited considerable and prolonged discussion. The Board was not unanimous, but the majority carried the day.

As long as the charter remained in their possession and they stood by it manfully, *it* sealed the connection of the College with the Church of England *in England*, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, — the Patron; and without the consent of his Grace, the College could not be touched, neither could its relationship be altered, nor its independence successfully assailed.

It was, and is, a royal charter, creating an University and College. It duly appoints the Archbishop of Canterbury Patron of the same University and College, with power to negative statutes. The Archbishop of Canterbury must therefore be consulted in matters affecting the existence of institutions intimately connected with the Church over which he exercises, by virtue of the charter, a certain control.

These views were delicately and with becoming moderation urged by Bishop Inglis. The effect was to modify the tone of Lord Glenelg's *private* despatch to the Lieutenant-Governor amazingly, and to warn his Excellency against any infringement of the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Little of this matter is known to living individuals. The despatch was a private one, but it has been preserved. It will shortly be presented.

Lord Glenelg's next communications to the Lieutenant-Governor were of a threefold character, all bearing the same date; namely, Nov. 4, 1836. One was very voluminous, occupying thirty folio pages concerning King's College; another very important, marked private, and relating to the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury; the third touching Dr. Porter.

The cause of Lord Glenelg's sudden abandonment of his position and his long-continued effort is to be traced to a printed statement, published by Bishop Inglis on Feb. 26, 1836, in which statement his Lordship makes the following bold avowal with regard to the "command" to surrender the charter: —

It must be obvious, also, that no measure of such importance ought to be attempted, *without a reference to the Patron*, who has the power of a negative upon every statute or by-law of the College, and ought certainly to be consulted in a matter affecting its existence.¹

That Lord Glenelg immediately took the hint given is evident from the following despatch: —

¹ Published in the *Report of the S. P. G. for 1837*, p. 31.

The Secretary of State to Major-General Sir Colin Campbell.

Private.

DOWNING STREET, Nov. 4, 1836.

SIR,— You will receive by this opportunity a despatch in which I have entered at full length into a review of the question relative to the union of King's and Dalhousie Colleges. Before transmitting that communication to you, I felt anxious to obtain the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject.

I accordingly submitted to his Grace a general statement of the question and the draft of my despatch to you, with a request that he would furnish me with his observations on them.

I enclose for your information a copy of the letter in which the Archbishop declines to give an opinion on the matter without a formal application for his advice from the Governors of King's College.

Such an application will of course be made by the Governors in case they incline to adopt the views which have been taken by my predecessors and myself with regard to the union of the Colleges; but at all events it will be your duty to see that in any measures which may be taken on the subject, *due regard be had to the rights which his Grace may possess as Patron of the College.*¹

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc., etc.,

(Signed) GLENELG.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, etc., etc.

The reply of the Archbishop is embodied in the subjoined letter to the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia.

LAMBETH, Dec. 27, 1836.

MY DEAR LORD,— I have to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 14th of November last, in which you apprise me as Patron of King's College at Windsor in Nova Scotia, of 'an alteration in one of the Statutes of that University, which alteration is subject to the disapproval of the Patron.'

Your Lordship informs me that the 'words of Sec. 3, in Title 6 of Book I. of the Statutes, have hitherto been as follows: No person shall be elected or appointed President who shall not be in full orders of the Church of England, and have taken the degree of Master of Arts, or Bachelor of Civil Law, in a regular manner in the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.'

¹ The original of this despatch is in the archives of Nova Scotia. It is marked "Private." It is one of several unpublished documents which cause the true history of King's College to vary from received versions.

Your Lordship proceeds to state that the alteration made by the Governors of the College unanimously on the 9th of November, 1836, consists in the addition of the following words at the end of the section : 'Or in the University or College at Windsor in Nova Scotia.'

I have great satisfaction in expressing my approbation of this alteration, and I congratulate the Governors on their having found among the individuals educated at Windsor a man of Dr. McCawley's learning and talents who is willing to undertake this important charge.

Some weeks ago I received from Lord Glenelg a report in which it was stated that King's College, Windsor, was reduced to the lowest ebb, and had scarcely any students, together with a copy of a despatch which I think had been sent at the time, and which you have of course seen. . . . My answer was as follows : —

(ENCLOSURE.)

October 10, 1836.

MY LORD, — I have to acknowledge your Lordship's obliging attention in sending me the statement of the case of King's College, Nova Scotia, and a draft of the despatch to the Government of the Province on the subject, and requesting my observations upon them.

I have read these documents with attention and now return them. I deeply regret the decline of an institution which some years ago afforded a good education to the sons of the principal families in the Colonies, and prepared many young men for the Church ; and I see but too clearly the disinclination of the Colonial Legislature to furnish the means of enabling it to exercise its functions with effect. But considering the peculiar relation in which I stand to the College, I do not feel myself competent to give an opinion on a matter which affects its very existence, without a formal application from the Governors for my advice and a statement of their views.

I remain, etc.

Since these communications took place I have received from your Lordship a much more favorable view of the state and prospects of the College, and a suggestion that the interests of the Church would be greatly advanced if the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge could provide for the Divinity scholarships, which are now discontinued for want of funds.¹

¹ The scholarships had been sustained by the liberality of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, but were discontinued in 1834, when the Parliamentary grant was withdrawn. The scholarships were renewed by the S. P. G. in 1841 and continued until 1871, when the annual grant to King's College was reduced from £300 sterling to £200 sterling per annum. In 1886 the grant for scholarships was wholly discontinued by the S. P. G.

I agree with you in thinking the restoration of these scholarships very desirable. Whether the Society would or could adopt the proposal I cannot say. But after having seen the statement which was sent me from the Colonial Office, I could not venture to propose such a measure unless I was able to produce an authentic document from the Governors, or at least from your Lordship, to show that there was a reasonable hope of sustaining the institution and restoring its efficiency.

In that case, I will do what I can.

With many thanks for your good wishes and a deep sense of the services which you are rendering to the Church in the Province under your jurisdiction, I remain, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

(Signed) W. CANTUAR.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF NOVA SCOTIA.

This letter was communicated to the Board on March 6, 1837.
There were present at the meeting: —

His Excellency Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B., Governor of the Province and President of the Board.

The Rt. Rev. and Honorable the Visitor.

The Honorable the Chief-Justice.

The Solicitor-General.

The Secretary of the Province.

The Honorable Thomas N. Jeffery.

And it was resolved: —

I. That the warmest thanks of the Board be presented most respectfully to his Grace the Patron for the interest he has been pleased to manifest in the prosperity of King's College.

II. That his Grace be respectfully informed that the Governors of the College entertain a confident hope that by the blessing of God upon the exertions which have lately been made and will be continued for the support and usefulness of the institution committed to their care, it will long continue to dispense the important benefits which it has afforded for nearly half a century to this part of his Majesty's Dominions.

III. That the Patron be earnestly requested to use his Grace's influence for the revival of the Divinity scholarships at the College, which were supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as long as that benevolent Society could sustain the expense of that support; and that his Grace be respectfully assured that the revival of these scholarships will eminently conduce to the usefulness of the

College, and especially advance the best interests of the Established Church.

IV. That a copy of the extract of the minutes of this Board, of Jan. 28, 1837, which is to be forwarded to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, be transmitted to his Grace the Patron.¹

Thus terminated, on March 6, 1837, the sustained efforts of four Secretaries of State, continued for a period of seven years, to remove King's College from Windsor, and during a part of that period to compel a surrender of its charter.

The position this question assumed in the politics of the Province from an imperial standpoint may be gathered from the following extract from Lord Glenelg's despatch to Sir Colin Campbell, dated April 30, 1835.

I need hardly recall to your recollection the correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, since, during the last five years, it has occupied a prominent place among the questions connected with the Province of Nova Scotia, to which the attention of the successive Secretaries of State has been devoted.

The work of Bishop Inglis comes prominently into view on perusal of the Archbishop's letter. The debt of King's College to that prelate has never been properly acknowledged; indeed, it is doubtful if it has ever been known. The political Board of Governors, composed of the Government of the Province, and directly subject, through the Governor, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, all acknowledged his powerful influence, gently urged. And it is a striking feature in this brief history that the Governors of the Province, probably acting in accordance with their convictions, practically opposed the Secretaries of State and sided with Bishop Inglis, in support of a college founded in the interests of the Church, and through many trials and difficulties steadfastly asserting her right to continue the work her benefactors had outlined.

¹ *Minute-Book*, vol. iii., 1835-1854.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE SECOND FAILURE TO REMOVE KING'S COLLEGE TO
HALIFAX TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE POLITICAL BOARD
OF GOVERNORS, 1836-1853.

THE successive blows inflicted on the interests of the College by the sustained series of hostile despatches from successive Secretaries of State, continued over a period of seven years (Aug. 31, 1829, to Nov. 4, 1836), would have been sufficient to dishearten most men, however devoted to the object they sought to protect. But Bishop John Inglis was not one of those who were intimidated by ill-grounded or factious opposition; he rose to meet it, and to defend the institution under his charge, and the Church of which it was the handmaid.

But the College suffered greatly from these attacks. After the successful attempt to restore discipline in 1829 the annual matriculations increased. In 1830 they were eight in number; in 1831, eleven Freshmen attested increased public confidence, the number of students in residence approaching thirty. In 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835, the repeated blows began to tell, so that in 1834 and 1835 there were only two entries each year. In 1836 the tide turned, and the number of matriculants increased to eight; in 1843 there were 13 fresh entries.

The statement of the Board transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in November, 1835, gave the results of the College work since the date of the charter (1802) as follows: 53 clergymen, 56 members of the legal profession, 39 in the army or navy or without professions, 10 members of the medical profession; total, 158.

Added to these there were, up to December, 1834, only eight other names of deserving men on whom honorary degrees had been conferred. Indeed, so jealous and chary were the College authorities of their degrees that during a period of thirty-two years not more than one honorary degree had been granted in an average of four years.

The Report of the S. P. G. for 1837 has the following pointed reference to the work of King's College up to that date:—

The vital importance of the College to the Church of England in Nova Scotia may be shown by a single fact; namely, that at a visitation held on May 18, 1837, in S. Paul's Church, Halifax, of thirty

clergymen who attended from the several parishes in the Province, no less than twenty-six were educated at Windsor. And if the College were abolished, the only means of supplying an indigenous clergy would be at an end.

In 1839 the S. P. C. K. published a similar statement.¹

It is proper to draw attention to the missionary character of the College as shown by the details submitted. The number of clergymen educated at Windsor attending the visitation in Halifax was half the total number recognizing King's College as their Alma Mater. The other half were missionaries in different Provinces, or like their "instructor," Dr. Cochran, had gone to their rest. This portion of the Church work of King's College ought to be constantly kept in view. Apart from its abstract worth, it affords a very satisfactory reason why the clerical friends of the College were frequently unable, from the remoteness of their missions in other Provinces, to give their support in person to their Alma Mater in time of need. Many exerted themselves to the utmost of their ability; some were prevented by insuperable difficulties; very few were pusillanimous or supine.

In New Brunswick a college with a royal charter was founded in 1828, and sustained by an imperial grant for many years, together with an appropriation from the local Legislature. It was well endowed, but relinquishing its charter, it lost its hold on the Church.

Dr. Cochran's resignation occurred in 1832. He was seventy-five years old at the time. The weight of years, with added infirmities, increased by more than forty years' service in connection with the College, induced him to memorialize the Board for release from his work. The Visitor quoted a portion of this memorial in an appeal transmitted to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Goderich in 1832. The words are as follows: —

That your memorialist hopes he may assume that his labours have not been altogether without benefit to the public; since he reckons amongst his Pupils, now living in these his Majesty's North American Colonies, one Bishop, one Archdeacon, very many Missionaries and other Preachers of the Gospel, one Chief-Judge, six Judges, one Attorney-General, two Solicitors-General, and very many eminent Barristers, besides many of great worth in other professions, still living; and others,

¹ *An Account of the Origin, Objects, and General Proceedings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* 1839.

who, after useful and honorable lives, have gone to their rest before their instructor.

Dr. Porter resigned in April, 1836. In his letter to the Board, dated March 28, 1836, he makes a statement which shows that the Imperial Government fully expected that the union of King's and Dalhousie Colleges would be carried into effect. The following is the passage:—

When the President lately visited England and ascertained from his Majesty's Government that no further grant would be made to the College after the year 1833, he had no resource but to press his own personal claims, and in answer to a memorial for this purpose information was conveyed to him by the direction of Mr. Stanley, that the usual salary would be paid to him for the following year, 'it being expected that the Colleges would be united during that period, but if the proposed union did not take place, he would in the following year be allowed a retirement.'

Conformably to this arrangement, official notice from the Treasury has lately been forwarded to him, that his pension commenced on the first of April, 1835.

On April 25, 1836, a communication from the Rev. Dr. McCawley, Professor of Hebrew and Mathematics in King's College, New Brunswick, was read, relative to his acceptance of the office of President of King's College, Nova Scotia.

Dr. McCawley was engaged at a salary of £350 stg., with the added emolument of £50 as Chaplain of the College, on Nov. 9, 1836. On the retirement of the Rev. John Stevenson he also became S. P. G. missionary at Falmouth.¹

The income of the College, by the withdrawal of the imperial grant, was reduced to the following items:—

From the S. P. G.	£500 stg.
" " Provincial Government	400 "
" " College Property	200 "
Total	£1,100 stg.

Nothing daunted, the Board spent £1,248 in putting the College and the Collegiate School in thorough repair.

¹ The Rev. John Stevenson was appointed S. P. G. missionary at Falmouth upon the resignation of Dr. Cochran in 1832. He resigned his position in the College and his mission at Falmouth in 1846. He bequeathed the sum of \$4,000 to King's College, to found three scholarships, now called "The Stevenson Scholarships."

The salaries and staff were reduced to the following low standard: —

THE COLLEGE.

Dr. McCawley, President and Chaplain to the College	£440 currency.
Rev. John Stevenson, Professor Mathematics, etc.	. . 220 "
(£200 sterling being allowed by the S. P. G. as missionary at Falmouth.)	

THE COLLEGiate SCHOOL.

Rev. W. B. King, Principal £220 currency.
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The Principal of the Collegiate School paid his assistant out of the fees. The four foundation scholarships attached to the College were preserved intact. The steward of the College was paid by the Board.

During this year the College and School had sunk to their lowest ebb. The number of students at one time had declined to three only, and the boys in the Collegiate School had dwindled down to four. But in January, 1837, the Board were enabled to inform Lord Glenelg that a fresh accession of students had raised the numbers to eleven, and in the Collegiate School there were twenty-four boys. Some conception of the gloom which enveloped both establishments may be gathered from the record in the *Minute-Book*, that at the *Encænia* of 1836 the only Governor present was the Visitor. It required a strong heart and steadfast trust to live through this year of trial; but the strong heart and the steadfast trust sustained Bishop Inglis.

His Lordship evidently knew what influence and motives lay in the background, and sought to direct or compass the ruin of the College and impair the resources of the Church. New Brunswick was not troubled with the same ceaseless persecution, and yet she had a college enjoying a grant from the Imperial Government and an endowment from the Provincial Legislature.

Light soon began to penetrate the gloom. The following letter shows how determined the Bishop was to hold on to the Charter and the College as long as there was anything to hold, and how liberal his intentions were toward the College if the necessity should arise.

CLERMONT, NOV. 1, 1836.

MY DEAR JOHN, — I am much obliged by your interesting though not very agreeable detail. Our debts must be paid while we have the ability. The Library Fund is sacred, and cannot be touched; but I have

no doubt the Governors will concur with me in thinking after our funds here shall fail, that the *accumulated interest* of the Subscription or Building Fund should first be taken, and that of the General Fund next.

I hope to be in time to confer with them, as I do not like single responsibility in money matters.

I am willing to take all the responsibility of Dr. McCawley's and Mr. King's appointments.

My kindest remembrances at home. We propose setting out for Kentville to-morrow. Yours affectionately,

(Signed) JOHN NOVA SCOTIA.

JOHN C. HALLIBURTON, Esq. (*The Secretary*).

It will be seen from the above that Bishop Inglis would not touch the *principal* of any of the College funds, merely the accumulated interest; and that he himself became responsible for the salary of the President and the Principal of the Collegiate School in the event of further withdrawals of income.

Bishop Inglis's attention to the Collegiate School was always constant and marked. The boys were annually brought up to the College to be examined by himself or a Committee of the Board. The Collegiate School was regarded by him as the feeder of the College. More money had been expended on its buildings than on those of the College. The S. P. G. recognized its great value, and for many years contributed large sums annually in support of exhibitions for the education of the sons of the clergy.

PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND IN REGARD TO THE COLLEGE.

The Bishop went to England in 1838, and attended a meeting of the friends of the S. P. G. held at Willis's rooms, on June 22. Two archbishops, twelve bishops, several of her Majesty's ministers, and many of the nobility and clergy were present. The bad effects of the withdrawal of the Parliamentary grant for the support of the clergy in the B. N. A. Provinces were displayed. The Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia addressed the meeting concerning King's College. His Lordship said: "From this seminary alone could a sufficient supply of missionaries be hoped for, to meet the spiritual wants of the Diocese of Nova Scotia; and had it fallen, the Church must have suffered the severest distress."¹

¹ *Proceedings at a Public Meeting of the Friends and Members of the S. P. G. 1838.*

During his visit to England the Bishop received donations in money and many valuable additions to the Library.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel came forward most generously, and notwithstanding the withdrawal of the Parliamentary grant, agreed to contribute £500 stg. per annum toward the general purposes of the College. The grant, commencing in 1826, was continued to 1846. In 1841 the S. P. G. commenced the further grant of £300 stg. per annum for Divinity scholarships and exhibitions, which was continued to 1871.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had granted £200 stg. for Divinity scholarships in 1837. This grant was continued to 1843, when it was reduced to £150; in 1845 to £100, and in 1846 discontinued.

DONATION OF DR. WARNEFORD.

In October, 1838, the Secretary read to the Board a letter from Dr. Warneford to the Bishop, announcing that he had placed £1,000 in trust with the S. P. G. for the University of King's College at Windsor, the interest alone to be applied, as Bishop Inglis might think proper, "for the benefit of your University." Dr. Warneford concludes his letter with the following words: ¹ —

I have only to hope that your Lordship will not attribute to the desire of display my tribute devoted to a most holy cause; and may the ALMIGHTY send down His blessings on your Lordship's prayers for the success of your pious undertakings, and the humble exertions of, etc., etc.

(Signed)

SAMUEL WILSON WARNEFORD.

The letter from Dr. Warneford to the Bishop was ordered to be read a second time at a meeting of the Board on Feb. 7, 1839, "as all the Governors would like to express their thanks for this munificent gift."

At this meeting there were present: Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B., Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief-Justice, the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, the Attorney-General and

¹ Copy of this letter in the Library of K. C., also in the *Minutes*, vol. ii. p. 55.

Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Solicitor-General, and the Hon. S. N. Jeffery.

The Chief-Justice was requested to prepare a reply, which is now given, in order to show the views of the Board with respect to the objects of the College.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, Feb. 27, 1839.

REVEREND SIR,—The Governors of King's College in Nova Scotia feel it both a duty and a pleasure to return you their grateful thanks for your liberal donation of £1,000 to the institution under their charge.

The Lord Bishop of this Diocese, the indefatigable friend of King's College, has transmitted to the Governors a copy of your letter to his Lordship announcing this act of liberality.

The manner in which the gift has been made enhances its value, and the Governors equally welcome the generosity and the humility of the pious donor.

It will afford them the most sincere gratification to record your name among the liberal benefactors to our institution, founded by his Most Excellent Majesty George the Third, to train up the youth of the country to fear God and honor the King, and to perpetuate in this remote part of the British Empire the worship of the ALMIGHTY in accordance with the principles of that Holy and Apostolic Church of which you are so worthy a minister.

By order and in the name and behalf of the Governors of King's College, at Windsor in Nova Scotia.

JOHN C. HALLIBURTON, *Secretary.*

In December, 1838, the James Putnam Legacy of £100, to be expended in books for the Library, was paid.

About this time the "Church Society" was established at Halifax. Among the objects of its attention the following was specified in the IX. Rule:—

3. Upholding by all possible and proper means the Collegiate Establishments at Windsor.¹

In 1841 the Governors were in a position to add a Professor of Modern Languages to the staff, fifty years after the first establishment of the College in 1790. The work done during the first half-century of the life of the University is briefly shown in the following tables:—

¹ *Vide Report of the S. P. G. for 1837, p. 34.*

Decades.	Number of Ordained Clergymen.	Number of Graduates.
1790-1803	7	(Before the charter) 200
1803-1810	4	21
1810-1820	9	51
1820-1830	24	69
1830-1840	10	48
Total	54	389
Estimated number of boys educated in the Coliegate School who did not pass through the College		400
Total in both establishments		789

The effect of the attempts to remove the College to Halifax is well shown in the diminished number of clergymen and graduates during the decade 1830 to 1840.

ORIGIN OF THE "VISITORS' FUND."

At a meeting of the Board held on Dec. 31, 1844, 'the Visitor stated that a surplus amounting to about £1,300 had accumulated from the allowances of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for Divinity scholarships at the College, which he thought might be advantageously invested on mortgage of real estate.

'Whereupon it was resolved that as this fund was peculiarly under the care and management of the Visitor, for the express purpose of endowing Divinity scholarships, that he be requested to invest the same in such manner as he might deem most prudent for the above purpose.'

This fund now amounts to a large sum, exclusive of the Warneford and Clermont Trusts, which for many years have been incorrectly included in the 'Visitors' Fund.'

The following table shows the decennial increase of this fund out of savings from the annual grants of the S. P. G., and the occasional grants of the S. P. C. K. for Divinity Scholarships and exhibitions at the Coliegate School.

	Capital.	Income.
1844	\$ 5,200.00	
1854	11,400.00	
1864	24,232.70	
1874 ¹	40,589.34	\$2,390.72
1884 ¹	44,266.00	
1889 ²	43,989.34	2,619.52

¹ This does not include the proceeds of the sale of the Clermont property,—namely, \$7,997.50,—or Dr. Warneford's donation of \$5,000. The printed statement of the "Visitors' Fund," published in August, 1885, gives the total amount as \$55,266, but this sum includes part of the "Clermont Fund," hereafter described, and the Warneford Fund.

² College Kalendar, 1889-90, deducting Clermont and Warneford Funds.

For many years the wording of the annual gifts of the S. P. G., includes the Collegiate School, and is in this form:—

12 scholars at King's College, Windsor.

12 exhibitioners at the Collegiate School.

Or in similar form, referring to both establishments. The savings one would suppose are applicable to both institutions.

In October, 1848, it was resolved by the Board that "at the commencement of 1849, the Secretary be authorized to separate the account of the VISITORS' DIVINITY SCHOLARSHIP FUND from the general account of the College at the Bank."¹

The foregoing statement of the Visitor in 1844, coupled with the above resolution of the Board of Governors concerning the matter to which the statement refers, discloses the fallacy of the conception which has been entertained and has done much harm, that the so-called "Visitors' Fund" could be alienated from the College and devoted to the purposes of another institution elsewhere than at King's College, Windsor, or the Collegiate School.

In 1843 the Board were disturbed by an application from the Provincial Secretary, soliciting their opinions respecting the establishment of a non-sectarian Provincial University, coupled with a desire to know how far the charter of King's College could be made available for that object. The Board declined to offer an opinion until details were furnished.

In November, 1845, the Secretary of the S. P. G. informed the Board that the Society would be compelled to withdraw the grant of £500 per annum, and the allowance of £50 for a chaplain, after the close of the year 1846, owing to a deficiency in their funds, whereupon the Visitor was requested to draw up a memorial to H. M. Government. This withdrawal of the S. P. G. grant compelled the Governors to give notice that the salary of the Principal of the Collegiate School could no longer be paid out of the funds of the College. The affairs of the College again assumed a gloomy aspect.

THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE'S SUGGESTIONS.

The memorial to the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, dated Dec. 24, 1845, together with the reply of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, is printed in the Appendix to the Journals of the House of

¹ *Minutes of the Board*, vol. iii.

Assembly for 1847. The refusal was kindly expressed, and embodied a statement of opinion on the matter, leading the Governors to turn to a neglected source of support, which eventually proved the salvation of the University, not only rescuing it from impending ruin, but placing it on a secure financial footing for some years to come.

Extract from Mr. Gladstone's Letter.

I can readily understand that the loss of this grant¹ will be most detrimental to the interest of the College; but I cannot bring myself to believe that any difficulty will be experienced in obtaining, either from public sources, or from the liberality of private parties in the Province, the necessary means for maintaining the College in active operation.

The Bishop took the hint conveyed by this paragraph of the despatch, and at a meeting of the Board on May 6, 1846, it was resolved "that a Committee be appointed to ascertain whether funds can be raised from other sources, and especially by the exertions of the *Alumni* of the College, to aid the institution under its present embarrassments."

The Visitor, the Chief-Judge, and the President of the College were appointed a Committee for the purpose named in the resolution.

At this date 430 persons had been educated within the walls of the College since its foundation. The number of students had increased since 1842, but they fell off as soon as it became known that the grant of the S. P. G. would be withdrawn. The annual entries were in 1842, 7; 1843, 13; 1844, 6; 1845, 11; 1846, 3.

Although the Governors could not afford to pay the Principal of the Academy any salary from their funds, yet the value of the Academy to the College had now become very marked, and the Governors resolved in future to go in a body to the building and witness the annual examinations, at the same time to make a thorough inspection of the dormitories and everything connected with the institution. In 1843 the number of pupils was 36; in 1846 the inhabitants of Windsor requested the Governors to extend the sphere of its usefulness.

¹ The grant of £500 per annum from the S. P. G.

THE DOINGS OF THE ALUMNI.

A week after the resolution of the Board to solicit the co-operation of the Alumni and friends of the College, a meeting was held in Halifax and steps taken to form an association¹ (May 12, 1846). One of the graduates (Rev. W. Gray, D.D.) was requested to proceed to England, and it was decided to raise £2,000 within the Province.

On Dec. 1, 1846, the Alumni presented six names, out of which the Governors selected two, to be elected by the Board to represent the Alumni.² The Secretary of that body also announced that they would provide £125 toward the salary of the Professor of Modern Languages. The Bishop was requested to draw up an appeal to members of the Church for the support of the College.

In the appeal the Bishop gave the following dreary account of the financial condition of the College: —

	Currency.
1. The President, who does the duty of two professors at a salary of	£385 00 00
2. A Professor of Mathematics and Nat. Phil., who takes his share in the Classical Lectures	220 00 00
3. A Lecturer in Modern Languages	125 00 00
4. Four Foundation Scholarships	80 00 00
5. Steward	60 00 00
6. A Secretary and Treasurer	22 10 00
	<hr/>
The whole available funds of the College	£892 10 00
Additional sum required annually	<hr/> 544 6 8
	<hr/>
	£348 3 4

The S. P. G. allowance of £300 for Divinity scholarships would probably be continued. The prospects were certainly gloomy, but the appeal was made in the right quarter, as events will show.

The Diocesan Church Society of Nova Scotia became a staunch friend of the College, and assisted in the support of some students. In 1849 the Society granted £105 currency, or \$420, for the help of students. During the year the Society reported that two students have for three years received assistance. Two more now receiving some aid are preparing for admission to Holy Orders.

¹ Mr. Justice Bliss was appointed Chairman; Rev. Dr. Twining, Vice-Chairman; and Mr. S. L. Shannon, Secretary.

² The Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Hon. W. Young, dissenting.

In December, 1847, there were 14 undergraduates in residence. The number of additional entries in 1848 amounted to 12.

In March, 1847, a Provincial Act was obtained, incorporating "The Alumni of King's College, Windsor," for the promotion of education, persons of all religious denominations being eligible as members.

LIBERALITY OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

Under date 67 Lincoln's Inn Fields, Nov. 2, 1847, the Secretary of the S. P. C. K. informed the Bishop to the effect that "The Standing Committee have been informed by the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia that the Alumni of King's College, Windsor, are now making active exertions to raise funds for the better maintenance and greater efficiency of the College, and that at a meeting lately held at Halifax the Alumni had unanimously resolved to raise the sum of £2,000, to be applied toward the support of the College so long as it shall continue to maintain its connection with the Church."

The Standing Committee, having taken the subject into their consideration, give notice that at the general meeting of the Society on the 7th of December they will propose to the Board as follows: —

That the sum of £1,000 be granted toward King's College, Windsor, this sum to be paid as soon as the above-mentioned £2,000 shall have been contributed; and also that a further grant of £1,000 be voted to be paid as soon as an additional amount of £2,000 shall have been raised by friends of the College, — it being a condition of these grants that before the sums voted by the Society are paid, all the regulations for the future government of the College shall have been submitted to his Grace the President of the Society, who is the Patron of the College, and have been approved by him.¹

On Dec. 4, 1847, the Bishop addressed a circular letter to the clergy of the Diocese. In this letter his Lordship says: —

I therefore ventured to suggest that, old as I am, and unequal as I may be to the successful discharge of the office, I would proceed to England, and once more be the advocate of the College in that land of benevolence and bounty, if the Associated Alumni would raise £2,000 as the commencement of a fund, from the interest of which the College might derive some good addition to its permanent income, and ex-

¹ *Minutes of the Board, Dec. 8, 1847, vol. ii. p. 157.*

pressed a hope that I might obtain £4,000 to be added to their £2,000. The Governors approved of my suggestion, etc. . . . Being anxious that no mistake should be made, I candidly stated that whatever application I should make for assistance would be grounded upon a full understanding . . . so long as the Archbishop of Canterbury should be the Patron, with the powers which have been given to him; so long as the Bishop of the Diocese shall continue to be the Visitor; so long as the President must be in full orders; so long as the internal government of the College shall be vested, as it now is, in members of the Established Church.¹

The Bishop continues: —

The Alumni, after due deliberation, unanimously passed a resolution which was read on the following day at a second joint meeting of Governors and Alumni: 'That the Managing Committee be requested to take immediate steps to raise the sum of £2,000, in such manner as they deem best, to be invested for the benefit of King's College, so long as it shall continue in connection with the Church of England, and to meet the proposition submitted to the Incorporated Alumni by the Visitor.'

The original of this important resolution, signed by G. P. C. Hill, Acting Secretary, is in the Library of King's College, together with many other documents connected with the proceedings of the Alumni. They are all interesting, and display the energy and activity, together with the faithful trust of the Alumni in the future of the College, and the sense of bounden duty which successfully sustained them in their efforts. In January, 1848, the information was conveyed to the Alumni that the S. P. C. K. had unanimously agreed to grant the sum of £2,000 to King's College on the conditions specified. This is an important agreement, duly entered into, which ought never to be forgotten.

Among the by-laws passed by the Association on June 27, 1848, following the announcement of the decision of the S. P. C. K., the subjoined were published: —

VI. That the funds of the Association will be appropriated for the payment of one or more professors or lecturers, and one or more scholarships at the University of King's College, or one or more teachers or exhibitions in the Collegiate School at Windsor, to be denominated the Alumni professorships and scholarships, respectively.

¹ Printed copy of this circular letter is in the Library of King's College.

VII. That the Association will scrupulously apply such donations as may be made to them to such specific objects in aid of King's College as may be directed by the donors respectively.

Thus was cemented a bond of union strengthened by a covenant, which has been productive of great benefits to King's College and the Collegiate school. In the future it gives promise of increased advantages and more confirmed utility.

Subscriptions began now to come in freely, and by October of the same year the Committee of the Alumni were able to report that they had raised the sum of £1,575, together with £400 for a Divinity Scholarship Fund, to be established in memory of the Rev. W. Cogswell, a warm friend of the College.

The number of students during the last term of 1847 reached fourteen only. In 1848 the entries numbered twelve. The Rev. T. G. Mulholland of Trinity College, Dublin, was appointed master of the Collegiate School, and that establishment began its work after a cessation of many months, owing to the want of funds and the general feeling of doubt prevailing respecting the very existence even of the College and School.

THE REPEAL OF THE PROVINCIAL GRANT TO KING'S COLLEGE.

On Feb. 10, 1849, a new trouble awaited the Governors. They met to discuss the introduction of a bill in the House of Assembly, to repeal the clause in the bill passed in 1787, endowing the College with £400 sterling per annum.

A memorial was unanimously agreed upon, praying that the bill be not assented to, and ordered to be published by the Board. The bill, however, was passed in 1851.

The repeal of this clause in the original act severed the financial connection so long existing between the Provincial Government and the College, leaving it under the patronage and protection of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, as described in the charter, whenever such protection might be authoritatively invoked, and largely dependent upon the exertions of the Alumni and the members of the Church, for whose advantage it was in the main established. Its political relation to the Government was now manifestly incongruous, and its friends began to cast about for means to sever this connection.

THE DEATH OF BISHOP JOHN INGLIS.

The death of Bishop John Inglis is an epoch in the history of King's College. His name as a pupil is the first that appeared on the records of the Academy in November, 1787. He was born in New York in 1777, and was only ten years old when he entered the Academy at its foundation. His Lordship was ordained by his father, the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, in 1801, and appointed S. P. G. missionary at Aylesford. Dr. John Inglis was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia and its dependencies on March 27, 1825.

During a confirmation tour in November, 1849, he was attacked with fever at Mahone Bay. This illness confined him to a sick chamber for many months. The last meeting of the Board of Governors of K. C. he attended, was held on the 27th of June, 1849. No other meeting of the Board took place for a whole year, according to the minutes. Bishop John Inglis died in London on Oct. 27, 1850, at the age of seventy-three years. He was buried in Battersea Churchyard.

During the Bishop's last illness, the twelfth annual meeting of the Diocesan Church Society of Nova Scotia was held in Halifax on Feb. 20, 1850. In the Report presented by the Executive Committee the following touching reference to his Lordship was made:—

We have this evening to regret the absence of a member of this Society who was mainly instrumental in its formation; who has been its first and only PRESIDENT; of one who has always had the deepest regard for the welfare of the Society; who has ever taken the most lively interest in its proceedings; to whom we are under great obligations for his unwearied paternal care, both with regard to the subject now before us, and also to all our dearest interests.¹

The "one" concerning whom this delicate and heartfelt testimonial was put on record, died eight months after its public avowal.

As illustrating the vast missionary field traversed by Bishop Inglis, it may be mentioned that in 1826 he visited Bermuda as part of his Diocese. Here he found 9 Churches and 4 clergymen. In 1828 he visited Newfoundland, travelled 5,000 miles, consecrated 18 Churches, and confirmed 2,365 persons. He es-

¹ See *Twelfth Report of the Standing Committee of the D. C. S. of N. S.*, p. 11.

tablished at this time the Archdeaconries of Newfoundland and Bermuda. In 1839 Newfoundland was separated from the Diocese of Nova Scotia.

The Honorable and Right Reverend John Inglis, D.D., is a name to be remembered by all who have the interests of the Church at heart, and who sympathize with the difficulties and triumphs of the institution with which he, and his father before him, had so strikingly identified themselves.

The S. P. G. unanimously adopted very commendatory resolutions on Nov. 15, 1850.¹

The Board of Governors of King's College made special reference to Bishop Inglis's care of the College in the resolution recorded on their minutes. They refer "to the death of him who was ever the INDEFATIGABLE PROMOTER OF ITS INTERESTS, THE FAITHFUL GUARDIAN OF ITS TRUSTS, and its warm, active, and zealous friend." The College lost much when this "faithful guardian of its trusts" was taken away.

The Alumni, with a ready and graceful acknowledgment of his great services to the College, proceeded to found, in addition to the heavy burdens they had already undertaken, the "Inglis Theological Professorship." This well-earned testimonial to the self-sacrificing prelate's worth has long lain dormant, for reasons unknown. The fund now amounts to about one thousand dollars. In the Report of the Alumni, published in 1871, renewed reference is made to this memorial professorship. It may be well to give the exact words: "At a special general meeting, held Feb. 3, 1851, a resolution was adopted and a Committee appointed to raise funds for the foundation of a professorship of pastoral theology to be called

THE INGLIS THEOLOGICAL PROFESSORSHIP,

in remembrance of the late Bishop."

The Kalendar of King's College for the academical year, 1871-72 contains an excellent brief account of the doings of the Alumni, and shows how largely this body has been instrumental in sustaining the University.

Bishop John Inglis died a poor man. He inherited the farm "Clermont" from his father, and although his emoluments were

¹ These resolutions will be found on page lviii of the *S. P. G. Report for 1851*, together with a brief notice of the life-work of the late Bishop.

large, being about \$11,500 per annum, he saved nothing from his income beyond the premium of a life annuity for the benefit of his family. His travelling expenses were large, his liberality great, and his hospitality uniform and generous.

The number of clergymen recognizing King's College as their Alma Mater in 1850 had reached 79. The number of matriculated students at the College since the charter was 257. The number of boys educated at the Collegiate School since Bishop John Inglis's name first appeared on the roll, approximated to 1200, making a total of persons wholly or partially educated in these institutions, at the death of the Bishop, 1460, as nearly as can be ascertained.

THE FOURTH BISHOP OF NOVA SCOTIA.

The Rev. Hibbert Binney, D. D., Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford, was appointed to the See of Nova Scotia shortly after the death of Bishop Inglis. He was consecrated at Lambeth on March 25, 1851.

His Lordship arrived at Halifax on July 22 of that year. Three months only prior to his arrival the clause in the Act of 1789 granting £400 sterling annually to King's College was repealed.

The new Bishop took his seat at the Board on September 22; the administrator of the Government, Lieutenant-Colonel Bazalgette being *ex officio* in the chair.

Bishop Binney was born in Sydney, Cape Breton, Aug. 12, 1810. He was not thirty-two years of age when appointed by the Crown to the exalted position of Bishop in the Church. He had been educated in England, and therefore every allowance is to be made for a young man placed in so responsible a position, and coming to his native country as Lord Bishop direct from the tutorship of a college in Oxford, not from the wide and more sympathetic field of ecclesiastical work in a parish.

When the Secretary of the Board of Governors wrote to his Lordship concerning the College before his departure from Oxford in 1851, he had to describe the religious complexion of the political body to which the Bishop now belonged *ex officio*.

In the words of the Secretary, the members consisted of seven members of the Church of England, three Presbyterians, and one, "not a member of the Church of England."

This complex character of the governing body could hardly have created a favorable impression.

The financial position of the College was not more encouraging than the complexion of the Board. The Secretary informed his Lordship before he set out for his Diocese that the

Expenditure of the College was	£1,013	12	6
Income	737	15	0
Deficit	£275	17	0

S. P. G. grant for Divinity scholars £300.

The staff of the College consisted of the President, who was Professor of Divinity and Classics; the Vice-President, who was Professor of Mathematics; and the Professor of Modern Languages.

CHANGE IN THE ACT OF INCORPORATION OF KING'S COLLEGE.

In June, 1852, the Alumni submitted among others the following resolution for consideration of the Board, the prelude to further action which greatly influenced the future of the College.

Resolved, that agreeably to the suggestion contained in the Report of the Committee, a Conference be sought with the Governors of the College for the purpose of consulting as to the best mode of procuring such an alteration in the Charter and the Provincial Statute as may secure the management of the College in the hands of those whose affections are engaged in its behalf, instead of intrusting it, as now, to *ex-officio* members, who may or may not be friends of the Institution.¹

This concerted measure was revolutionary, but it was clearly necessary that something of the kind should be done if the College were to seek for sympathy from those who desired to become its best friends and contribute pecuniary support.

The political Board of Governors under the charter, consisting largely of officers of the Government, some of whom either were at the time, or by the wheel of fortune in representative government might at any moment become, stern opponents of the Church, and unfriendly to the College, were not likely to insure the uninterrupted progress of the institution. The efforts of the Alumni to procure a new Board of Governors, repre-

¹ *Minutes of the Board*, vol. iii. p. 242.

senting and friendly to the Church, was finally successful in 1853.

On April 4, 1853, an act was passed by the Legislature "to incorporate the Governors of King's College, Windsor, and to repeal the act for founding, establishing, and maintaining a College in this Province." The Queen's assent was announced at a Board meeting held on Jan. 10, 1854.

The Visitor stated at this meeting that he had collected £1,000 in England, and that the late Bishop had secured £265. The Secretary was instructed to write to the President of the Alumni of King's College, Windsor, requesting him to call a special or general meeting for the election of eight Governors of the College under the new act.

The most important provisions and powers conferred by the new act were as follows: —

1. All Governors to be members of the Church of England.
2. The Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia for the time being always to be President of the Board, and Visitor.
3. All lands, goods, chattels, etc., in possession of, or held in trust by the old Board of Governors were confirmed to the new Board.

Clause 6. The Governors hereby incorporated, at any general meeting assembled, shall, from time to time, and as they shall think fit, make and establish such statutes and ordinances for the instruction, care, and government of the students, the management of the property of the College, the appointment of the President, Professors, Fellows, and Scholars (the President always to be a member of the Church of England), and also touching any matter or thing respecting the College which to them shall seem meet.

Clause 10. The royal charter, incorporating "the Governors, President, and Fellows of King's College, at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia," shall not in any manner be affected by this act, except so far as may be necessary to give effect to this act.

The closing act of the old political Board of Governors of King's College is thus recorded in the minutes: —

Feb. 13, 1854. Present.

His Excellency Sir J. Gaspard Le Marchant, Lieutenant-Governor.

The Rt. Rev. Hibbert Binney, D. D., Visitor.

The Hon. Brenton Halliburton, Chief-Justice.

The Hon. Alex. McDougall, Solicitor-General.

Lewis M. Wilkins, Esq.

The Secretary read the following letter from the Secretary of the Associated Alumni : —

HALIFAX, Feb. 11, 1854.

SIR, — I am directed to inform you that at a special general meeting of the Alumni of King's College, Windsor, held on the 10th inst., the following gentlemen were elected Governors of King's College : —

The Hon. Mr. Justice Parker, of New Brunswick.

Andrew M. Uniacke, Esq.

Hugh Hartshorne, Esq.

The Hon. Mather Almon.

The Rev. George W. Hill.

The Rev. William Bullock.

James C. Cogswell, Esq.

John W. Ritchie, Esq.

I have, etc.,

(Signed)

P. CARTERET HILL,
Secretary of Alumni.

JOHN C. HALLIBURTON, Esq.,
Secretary of King's College.

Whereupon it was resolved that the Secretary and Treasurer be authorized to transfer the books, papers, accounts, and moneys of the present Board of Governors to such person as may be authorized by the new Board of Governors to receive the same, and that the Secretary do transmit the above resolution to the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, the President of the new Board, and Visitor, and request he will communicate the same to the new Board of Governors.

Thus closed the fitful life of the first political governing body of King's College. An insight into its spasmodic and ill-sustained efforts to mould or mar, to establish or destroy an University, might be gathered from the record of the number of its meetings each year in fulfilling the duties imposed by the Act of Incorporation and the charter.

In 1838 the Board held two meetings, in 1839 the same number. In 1840 it met but once. In 1849 this political Board did not hold a single meeting between June 26, 1849, and June 27, 1850. In 1853 two meetings were held, and then it died. No record of Proceedings was at any time published except on demand of the Legislature. The Corporation was a closed

corporation, often at variance with itself in business matters, but generally unanimous at the annual dinner, which was hilariously celebrated.

The Governor of the Province presided at the meetings of the Board, whether he happened to be a Churchman or a Presbyterian. Among the provincial ministry of the day, the views of any Protestant denomination might prevail. The Bishop was frequently overruled, and subject to the influence and votes of extremists in his own Church, or dissentients from the religious views he was bound to uphold. He might at any time be opposed by a "Croke" or thwarted by a "nondescript," such as the Secretary failed to outline in his letter to Bishop Binney just after his consecration.

All of these difficulties have to be kept in view in summing up the struggle for life which King's College successfully combated before the Alumni came to her aid.

The institution itself suffered greatly in reputation through the incongruous elements composing its governing body. It could not be otherwise, for with diverse religious views, success in one direction would be accounted a mischievous advance by opponents.

As a consequence, the new life of King's College was beset with unusual difficulties. Even among many members of the Church it ceased to excite interest or sympathy, for it was regarded as incapable of survival. But a large majority of the Alumni remained true; and to those who then, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, came forward with alacrity and feeling, the College owes its present existence and its future brightening prospects.

In one particular the old political Board strictly adhered to the line of loyalty and duty. They were chary of the dignity of the charter, and granted degrees with scrupulous caution.

During the half-century that the Government of the Province had controlled its work, the University had granted the following degrees: —

D. D.	5	D. C. L.	5	Hon. D. C. L.	14
B. D.	5	B. C. L.	5	M. D. ad E. G.	0
M. A.	50	B. A.	173		

While the act of the Legislature in 1853 severed the official connection between the College and Provincial Government, it

established a direct relationship between the governing body of the institution and the Alumni, preserving at the same time the connection of the College with the Church, and recognizing the authority of the Patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the charter.

The House of Assembly placed the College on the same financial footing as other denominational institutions, by a grant of \$1,000 per annum, and then left it to pursue its own course and rely on its own resources.

THE FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW BOARD OF GOVERNORS TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE LIFE OF THE UNIVERSITY, 1853-1890.

THE first meeting of the new Board was held at Windsor on Feb. 13, 1854. Committees were at once formed to examine into the financial condition of the College and report on College lands and other property; also to see to the state of the buildings, and prepare an outline of affairs generally for the information of the public.

The total amount of the funds of the College was found to be as follows:—

General Fund	\$55,573.00
Visitors' Fund	11,400.00
	<hr/>
	\$66,973.00
Revenue from General Fund	\$2,851.00
Expenses	3,476.00
	<hr/>
Deficit	\$625.00

The landed property, apart from the original sixty-nine acres on which the College and Collegiate School were situated, consisted of twenty thousand acres of wild and generally poor land, together with a "barren" farm near Truro.

A thorough examination was made of the College building, and in the report submitted it was stated that at some former period not specified, the sills of the old frame had been taken out, "and stone laid in mortar carried from foundation up to plate." The Governors unexpectedly found themselves in pos-

session of a stone building, in place of one supposed to be of wood, and sound in all leading particulars.

Being clapboarded and "sheathed" throughout, it was commonly supposed that the structure was of wood only; sadly in want of paint, it was also believed to be in swift process of decay. This impression appears to have uniformly prevailed at the time, particularly as some of the floors were sagged in the lower rooms.

ACTION OF THE ALUMNI.

After the election of the new Board the Alumni proposed to raise \$40,000 for an endowment, and supplement this generous contribution by an annual grant from their funded property toward various College and Collegiate School expenses. An appeal to Churchmen and the public generally was issued in January, 1854, to which was added a separate address to the clergy of the Diocese by the Visitor.¹

The scheme for raising this large amount embodied the granting of the privilege of nominating a matriculated student to pass through the College without the payment of fees, to every contributor or group of contributors of \$400. Eighty nominations were secured by this method, of which fifty still remain in force. From a recent return it appears that the value of the nominations of which advantage has been taken up to the present year exceeds \$55,000, or more than \$20,000 in excess of the money actually received. By this means the College has largely contributed toward FREE EDUCATION. The \$40,000 was subscribed within a year; and by the system of nominations securing free education, the return to the donors has already been nearly double the amount received from them. This feature should never be overlooked.

The College staff was reorganized in June with the following salaries: —

President, the Rev. G. McCawley, D. D., Professor of Classics, \$2,000.

Professor of Mathematics, M. J. Hensley, B. A., \$1,000.

Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, Henry How, \$1,000.

¹ A copy of these printed documents is in the Library of King's College. Thirteen years later than the date of the circular to the clergy, out of seventy serving in Nova Scotia in 1863, no less than fifty were trained in King's College.

Professor of Pastoral Theology, Rev. G. W. Hill, M. A.,
\$1,000.

Professor of Modern Languages, H. Shefelhagen, \$600.

Principal of the Collegiate School, Rev. D. W. Pickett.

The President still retained the mission at Falmouth.

THE STATUTES.

One of the first acts of the new Board was to appoint a Committee to frame a new code of statutes and regulations. Clause 6 of the Act of Incorporation gave them full power to establish statutes and ordinances "touching any matter or thing respecting the College which to them shall seem meet."

The Committee proposed a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, to preside as occasion required at convocation, to confer degrees, and give form and status to the University apart from the College.

When this proposition came before the full Board for discussion, eleven members being present, it was moved by the President of the College that the section appointing the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor be omitted. "This was agreed to, five to two." Four members of the Board did not vote on this important matter.¹ The President of the College thus became President of the University and by a further statute President of Convocation, with power to summon a meeting for the conferring of degrees at any time during the academical year.

By another statute a Board of Discipline was appointed, consisting of the Faculty, over which the President of the College presided. Great powers were given to this Board, among others that of granting testimonials.

But the President of the College at the time was also Professor of Classics, and to his College and University duties were continued his salaried duties to the S. P. G. missionary station in the adjoining township of Falmouth, to which he had been appointed on the retirement of the Rev. J. Stevenson, formerly Professor of Mathematics in K. C., under the old Board. The retention of this S. P. G. appointment necessarily took the President away from the College on Sundays, as in former times.

The revival of the original statute proposed by the Committee

¹ See *Minutes of the Board*, vol. iii. p. 69, Aug. 11, 1854. It would appear from the minutes that this important statute was not carried by a majority of the Board present.

and negative in the manner described (from members of the Board not voting), with the modification that the Chancellor should be elected by the Alumni, has several times been entertained; and now that the appointments of all College and University officers are annual, with the exception of the Fellows, the time seems to be favorable for effecting the change, if thought desirable.

The duties of the Visitor under the new act were defined in express terms: "It is his office to take care that the Statutes are observed."

If this limitation had been properly understood and regarded prior to 1884, much trouble might have been saved to the College. It was decided on April 21, 1885, by the Chief-Justice and two Judges of the Supreme Court, "that the College being a public corporation, established by public statute, and the Visitor being deprived of the power to dismiss, the wide range of powers incident to the office of Visitor, at common law, were not conferred on him."¹

The Revised Statutes as finally adopted by the Board were free from all illiberal or sectarian features, preserving only the Divinity School properly fenced, and the College and University subject to the charter as amended by the Act of 1853. One clause states as follows:—

And whereas it is declared by the charter that all statutes, rules, and ordinances may be disallowed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being; therefore these statutes, and every revocation, augmentation, or alteration thereof, shall be forthwith transmitted to the said Lord Archbishop.

When the Revised Statutes were transmitted to England in 1854 for the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace replied:—

The Statutes appear to be such as are likely to secure their object; and I will endeavor to testify my interest in your College by sending on some early opportunity a copy of my works for your Library, which I beg of you to accept as coming from the Patron for the time being.

Dr. John Bird Sumner was the fourth Archbishop of Canterbury to whom vital reference had been made during the existence of the College up to the year 1854.

¹ *Nova Scotia Law Reports*, 1884-86, vol. vi. p. 180. Decided April 21, 1885.

The privileges of the College were now extended to a new class of students, styled "elective students," who were permitted to attend during an academical year, or term, one, two, or more courses of lectures. The application of this privilege to Divinity students was subsequently productive of such disastrous influence that the Synod of Nova Scotia passed a canon in 1882 relating to Divinity students, hereafter referred to.

The sum of \$40,000 so speedily raised by the Alumni was supplemented by annual contributions of one pound, or four dollars, from a large number, which, with the interest of certain property previously accumulated in the name of the Corporation, enabled that body further to assist the Governors by annual contributions toward special objects.

In July, 1855, the Board published the first "Kalendar of King's College." Up to this date no information in detail concerning the College had been given to the public, apart from fragmentary reports to the Legislature, or in appeals for assistance, since the foundation of the College in 1790.¹

At the close of the year (1855) the finances presented a favorable aspect.

The Invested Funds of the College amounted to . . .	\$93,880
The Visitors' Fund to	18,500
	<hr/>
	\$112,380

During the ten years which followed the inauguration of the new Board, and the active intervention of the Alumni, the College progressed rapidly. The number of students had risen from sixteen in 1854 to forty-nine in 1864. The Freshmen entries in 1863 were twenty in number. Houses had been built for the professors close to the College building. Exhibitions, testimonials, and prizes had been established.² A handsome new stone building for a convocation hall and library had been erected by the Alumni at heavy cost. The funds of the College were in a favorable condition.

Throughout this period excellent regulations were adopted and enforced with respect to both College and Collegiate

¹ Dr. Akins's excellent account of King's College was published in 1865.

² The Dr. Binney Exhibition, annual value \$50; Dr. Almon's Welsford Testimonial, annual value \$24; the Akins Historical Prize, annual value \$30; the Cogswell Cricket Prize, annual value \$24. These were in addition to the William Cogswell Scholarship, annual value \$120; ten S. P. G. Divinity Scholarships, annual value \$120; the McCawley Hebrew Prize, annual value \$45.

School, whereby the members of the Board, as trustees of both institutions, could be informed of the progress, wants, and shortcomings of each. These measures included terminal or semi-annual and annual reports from the President and professors respecting efficiency and due attendance to statutes and rules, including the transmission to the **Board of Chapel and lecture lists**, number and standing of students, etc. If these regulations had been continuously kept in force, it is not improbable that some difficulties which occurred in subsequent years would have been materially lessened or wholly avoided.

In 1864 the affairs of the estate of "Clermont," the family residence of Bishops Charles and John Inglis, devised to the "University of King's College, Windsor," by the late Charles Inglis, son of Bishop John Inglis, was finally settled. The Governors subsequently sold the estate for the sum of \$8,000.

Suddenly a cloud overshadowed the fair prospects of the University. In the words of the Kalendar for 1864, "The unhappy war in the neighboring States has interrupted the receipt of dividends on the funds invested in that country, which, although the principal, it is hoped, may be ultimately safe, causes the Governors great embarrassment in meeting their engagements." In 1866 this cloud began to disappear, and although considerable loss was sustained, yet efforts were made by the Alumni to make good in some measure the annual deficiency in income.

In 1870 the valuable Library of the University was removed to the new hall. The number of volumes accumulated during eighty years exceeded six thousand. Many of these were of considerable value, being the gifts of benefactors. The University Library is well worthy of a separate notice; some of the works are rare and costly.

In 1871 a curriculum for a course of engineering was introduced with good effect, and various changes made in the Arts course more in keeping with the times.

But these efforts at improvement were rendered nugatory by laxity in discipline and neglect of statutes. The effect of this remissness may be gathered from the College returns.

During the five years from 1859 to 1863 the number of matriculants reached seventy, with ten elective students. In the five years following, the matriculated students declined in number to twenty-three, and the elective students to nine. So pal-

pable was the deleterious effect on the College and the Church, that a requisition was sent by three governors to the Visitor in 1871, requesting his interference according to the statute defining his duties. The visitation was duly held, and the Board of Governors subsequently passed a resolution thanking the governors who pressed for the visitation, which resolution was ordered to be recorded on their minutes.

In the Bishop's charge delivered in Halifax, June 30, 1874, his Lordship said: "For students preparing for Holy Orders, our College provides very nearly FREE BOARD as well as a FREE EDUCATION. . . . That we must depend chiefly upon the College for a supply of duly trained clergymen is certain." But to these words the Bishop added truisms which can never be too often repeated: "It is not by keeping aloof from organizations good in themselves that abuses can be remedied, or improvements effected, but by taking an active part in them, and earning an influence through the manifestation of an *honest interest* in their progress and success." These significant words, specially addressed to the clergy, and pointing out the fact that good is not to be attained by "keeping aloof from organizations," but by "manifesting an honest interest in their progress and success," and thus "earning an influence," have the right sort of ring in them, and should be echoed again and again.

It will be seen farther on, that Bishop Binney's able successor repeated in a still stronger form of words, some fifteen years later, the same Churchman-like views.

THE COLLEGIATE SCHOOL.

On Sept. 22, 1871, the Collegiate School building was destroyed by fire. In 1876 the old Library in the College building was used as a temporary school-room pending the erection of a new building. Curiously enough, after a period of eighty years, boys were taught in the rooms which had been used for a similar purpose in 1795. It was not until 1877 that the new building was completed. The entire cost, about \$10,000, was defrayed by voluntary subscriptions above the insurance of \$4,000, and two loans of \$1,000 each from the Visitors' Fund, and a scholarship fund in the hands of the Governors. The reorganized school was placed under the supervision of the President of the College, the head master being required to communicate

through him to the Board of Governors. This regulation materially increased the responsibility of the President, who now exercised vital control over both institutions, according to the Statutes and regulations. If the President failed in his duty, both establishments were sure to suffer. The Collegiate School was the nursery of the College; the ample savings from the annual exhibitions granted by the S. P. G. to the Collegiate School should have been continued at this time in the interest of the sons of the clergy¹ and of the College, which was and is the "handmaid of the Church." The reason for this discontinuance has not been explained.

With a view to cement the close connection between the School and the College, the head master is now *ex officio* a member of the College Board with reference to subjects required for matriculation. It is the duty of the President of the College at the end of every Easter term to examine the whole School, with such assistants as may be selected by the Board of Governors. At the end of every term the bursar is to inspect the School premises, including dormitories and offices, and report to the President for the information of the Board. The register of the School, when filled, is to be returned to the registrar of the College. The head master, if in Holy Orders, "shall perform the office of chaplain in rotation, according to the arrangement of the President." The resident boys attend the Sunday services in the College chapel. These regulations give a tone and character to the Collegiate School which it is most desirable to maintain in the interests of the Church and of the College.

Under recent able management the number of boarders in the Collegiate School exceeded forty. It cannot be doubted that a revival of the exhibitions properly assigned to the School would, under strict regulations, be beneficial to the clergy and advantageous to the College. The Collegiate School ought to train from ten to twelve boys annually for matriculation at the College, and continue, as it was always intended it should do, its efficient nursery.

¹ For many years (1857 to 1870) the University Kalendar contained this announcement: "There are, in connection with the School, six exhibitions, each £15 (\$60) per annum, tenable for three years, to be given to the sons of clergymen, and to those who are designed for the ministry."

CHANGE IN THE PRESIDENCY.

In 1875 the Rev. Dr. McCawley resigned the office of President of the College, and his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. A. C. Tait), by request of the Governors, selected the Rev. John Dart, M. A. Oxon., as his successor. The McCawley Scholarship was founded by subscription on the retirement of the late President, who enjoyed the esteem of numerous friends. During this year the Professor of Divinity — Dr. Hensley, a name honored and cherished by all who have been connected with the affairs of the University — issued a circular letter, with the concurrence of the Board, soliciting subscriptions to enable him to fit up the Library Hall in the new stone building presented to the University by the Alumni, for chapel services, "thus carrying out one of the objects for which the hall was originally intended." The sum asked for was speedily subscribed; but early in 1876 the first portion of the funeral service was solemnized over the remains of him who had so long urged and worked for a suitable College chapel as a necessary adjunct to the College. Soon after his death it was determined to erect in his memory

THE HENSLEY MEMORIAL CHAPEL.

The Hensley Memorial Chapel was opened for service in 1878. It is constructed of stone, and attached to the main building by means of a corridor. This exceedingly neat and appropriate edifice supplied a want which had been felt from the first establishment of King's College. The greater portion of the cost (\$14,000) was generously met by the late Edward Binney, a near relative of the Bishop.

In 1881 a new disturbance threatened the peace of King's College. The Bishop received a letter from the Provincial Secretary, asking whether the Board of Governors would be willing to "surrender the degree conferring power they now possess, and pass it over to a General Examining Body of a representative character, in which your College would be represented."¹

The Bishop, as President of the Board, replied "that they are unanimous in the opinion that being TRUSTEES they are not in a position to surrender any of the privileges enjoyed by the College under the royal charter as an University, with the right

¹ *Minutes of the Board, March 9, 1881.*

to judge of the qualifications of candidates for degrees, and to confer such degrees."

This important recognition of the duties of the Board as TRUSTEES, was but a repetition of the already strongly stated opinion of Chief-Justice Blowers and the Patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury, that having accepted the TRUST, by the acceptance of office, the Governors are bound to "protect" and "promote" the "Trust" committed to their charge, not to "disturb" or destroy it. There were forty resident students in College this year, and out of these only three were paying fees for education. With such privileges at their disposal the duties of a Governor or Trustee involved great moral responsibilities.

In 1881 the government grant of \$2,400 was withdrawn from all the Colleges in Nova Scotia. The effect on King's College was to cause the Alumni again to join with the Governors for the purpose of raising a new Endowment Fund of \$40,000.¹ The Bishop in his address to the Synod in 1882 advocated the claims of the College in very strong terms. His Lordship said, "We shall be degraded in the sight of all men if, having received a good inheritance, we fail to preserve it." Among strong points urged by the Bishop in his address to the Synod, he deprecated the possibility that "the College would degenerate practically into a theological seminary, wherein the clergy would be trained apart from other students. This would be *disastrous* to them and to the whole community, which must suffer when the teachers are ignorant and unqualified, or trained to walk in a narrow path with limited views and sympathies."²

In this address his Lordship gave marked encouragement to a subject of grave import to the College, and paved the way to a change in the Constitution of the Board of Governors which will be noticed in the proper place.

CANON PASSED BY THE SYNOD.

At this session the Synod passed a canon for confirmation relating to Divinity students. Clause 3 of this canon reads as follows: "Every Divinity student shall be expected to pass a matriculation examination and to take a full Arts course, except in cases where an exemption is specially allowed by the Visitor."

¹ Resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting of the Alumni, June 29, 1881.

² *Journal of the 16th Session of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia*, p. 52.

This provision would commend itself to every conscientious Churchman as a wise safeguard for the interests of the Church apart from the exemption clause. The Canon was confirmed in 1884.

A slight alteration in the wording would remove the difficulty, and fully carry out the views of the Synod, which cannot be too highly commended. It was subsequently ascertained that the power of "exemption" is in direct opposition to Clause 6 of the Act of Incorporation, and also at variance with the prescribed duties of the Visitor as defined in the Statutes and as determined by a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court in 1885 in another matter.

It is a noteworthy fact in this relation, which ought not to be overlooked, that prior to the Synod's action in 1882, the Faculty of the College, under date Oct. 19, 1881, had transmitted to the Board of Governors a resolution protesting in strong and pointed language against Divinity students passing through the College without taking an Arts course. The Committee of the Board to whom the matter was referred expressed entire concurrence with the Faculty, and thus established unanimity of views between the Governors, Faculty, and Synod, apart from the "exemption clause."

AMENDMENT IN THE ACT OF INCORPORATION.

In April, 1883, an important amendment to the act to incorporate the Governors of King's College was passed by the Legislature. By its provisions the number of the Governors was increased by two representatives from the Synod of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, one to be elected at each Biennial Session, and to hold office for four years.

The same act empowered the Governors to increase their number as "soon as the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton shall by resolution declare King's College at Windsor to be the College approved by said Synod for the education and training of the Divinity students of the Diocese of Fredericton, . . . one to be the Lord Bishop of Fredericton for the time being, who shall then be *ex officio* a Governor of King's College, and the remaining two to be elected from time to time by the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton. A like provision extends to the Diocesan Synod of Newfoundland, as far as concerns the election of two representatives in the governing body.

It cannot be doubted that these important changes in the constitution of King's College invested the institution with a responsibility and authority far exceeding its former status. It was now the accepted training school of the Church in Nova Scotia, and as soon as the Synod of New Brunswick declared its intention, the accepted training school of the Church in New Brunswick. This acceptance was signified in 1885, and delegates from the Synods of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are now members of the Board of Governors.

At the annual meeting of the Alumni in 1883, resolutions were passed concerning the department of Modern Languages, which was the prelude to incidents and changes which have had a marked effect on the College.

The professors' houses were destroyed by fire in June, 1884. Steps were immediately taken to rebuild them. In Bishop Binney's opening address to the Synod of Nova Scotia in 1884, his Lordship spoke feelingly and pointedly in favor of the College, and advocated its claims with much earnestness and force. His Lordship said: "I look with increased anxiety on the condition of our College. I do not think it was ever in a more efficient state, and the tone and character of the students is highly commended by the residents of Windsor, who are sure to know if there is anything unsatisfactory amongst them."¹

INCONSISTENT CONFEDERATION AGAIN PROPOSED.

These encouraging expressions of opinion were sadly counterbalanced by disputes and disorganization suddenly arising in the College, and extending from the Faculty to the students. Outsiders took the matter up, seizing the opportunity to revive the old cry of "Confederation with Dalhousie," which had troubled Bishop John Inglis so deeply.

At a special meeting of the Board, held on April 23, 1885, a resolution concerning the heads of arrangements for confederation with Dalhousie College was actually passed. The Alumni, convened at Windsor, would not tolerate the change. Friends on all sides arose in consistent defence of the old institution. From far-off England a letter was received in September from R. Roach, Esq., of Stoke-on-Trent, giving £500 sterling to the College on condition that it would not confederate with Dal-

¹ *Journal of the Seventeenth Session, 1884.*

housie. In the same month the Board received from the executors of the late Rev. G. W. Hodgson the announcement that he had left his library to the College, and the reversion of the greater part of his property (\$30,000). The steps taken to raise a new Endowment Fund were continued in both Provinces, and \$16,000 paid in. The Alumni by a large majority expressed their opinions in words and actions, with so potent an effect that the outcome of the whole matter was the placing of the College on a firmer base than ever, always provided that unforeseen inherent weakness in those placed in positions of trust did not lead them to prove unfaithful to their calling, and neglectful of their covenants.

The College disturbances noticed and the attempts at "confederation" culminated not only in these marked exhibitions of confidence and love, but led to a radical change in the Faculty and in the conditions accompanying the tenure of office of each individual.

THE DEATH OF BISHOP BINNEY.

With the death of Bishop Binney, which occurred on April 30, 1887, the connection between the Diocese and the Imperial Government ceased. His Lordship was the last Bishop of Nova Scotia appointed by the Crown.

When the Rt. Rev. Hibbert Binney, D.D., came to Nova Scotia in 1851, he found King's College not merely languishing, but almost in a comatose condition. Its financial state was wretched. The governing body was composed of discordant religious elements, politically at variance. Its literary standing was openly sneered at, its discipline more than doubtful, its prospects gloomy in the extreme.

Associating himself with the Alumni, as soon as freed from the incubus of political and religious discord, at the close of his life he left the University of King's College, elevated to the dignity of being the accepted handmaid of the Church in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Its staff had been more than doubled, its funds trebled, its ordained ministers swelled in numbers from seventy-nine to one hundred and ninety-eight. He had assisted in the transformation of an impoverished institution, the legacy of half a century of misrule, into a vigorous and self-sustained establishment, capable of gath-

ering around it, in time of need, hosts of tried and trusted friends.

THE FIFTH BISHOP OF NOVA SCOTIA.

The Rt. Rev. Frederick Courteney, S.T.D., was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia on S. Mark's Day, 1888. His Lordship has already inaugurated some excellent changes in certain departments of the College and Collegiate School.

On Feb. 7, 1889, it was resolved by the Board, with the consent of the Visitor, that the Divinity scholarships be limited to eight in number, two to be awarded each year and tenable for four years; that they be given to those only who pass the matriculation examination and take an Arts course; that the scholarships be forfeited on account of serious misconduct, or failure to keep terms, except through illness.

On March 14, the Board assented to the canon on Divinity degrees as approved by the Committee of the Provincial Synod, Jan. 11, 1889, and on Jan. 9, 1890, formally appointed "under the 3d section of the canon the whole Board of Examiners who have been individually nominated by their respective Colleges."

This important movement establishes an intimate relation between all the Church Colleges in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada with respect to the examinations for degrees in Divinity. It is a fitting and suggestive close to a century's work on the part of the University of King's College, which had been in existence for half a century before any of the other Church Colleges were established.

This Examining Board now consists of the Bishop of Toronto, Chairman, appointed by the House of Bishops, and one representative from King's College, Windsor, N. S.; Bishop's College, Lennoxville, P. Q.; Trinity College, Toronto, Ont.; Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.; Theological College, Montreal, P. Q.; and Huron College, London, Ont., respectively.

The year (1889) witnessed too the establishment of a nucleus for the endowment of a professorship of modern languages. Through the munificence of the Rev. J. J. S. Mountain, D. C. L., an Alumnus of the University, the sum of \$3,000 was set apart for that purpose, and the chair was designated by the Board,

THE JACOB MOUNTAIN PROFESSORSHIP OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

A new residence was completed for the Professor of Divinity, thus enabling all the professors to have separate establishments within the limits of the University grounds.

Additional accommodation was provided for the Library in the Convocation Hall. This valuable adjunct to the University now contains about nine thousand volumes, many of the books being rare copies of valuable works. The renovation of the exterior of the College building was completed, the Collegiate School building put in thorough repair, and preliminary work on the improvement of the College grounds commenced. According to the University Kalendar the *funded property* of the College amounted in all, at the close of the 99th year, to \$153,-519.00, yielding an interest of \$9,415.42. This amount does not include the £500 sterling so generously contributed by Mr. Roach, "nor the munificent contingent legacy of the late Rev. George W. Hodgson."

It thus appears that the close of the first century of the College was distinguished by successful efforts to establish on a secure basis its material surroundings.

The College began its checkered political life a century ago with one professor. It closes the hundredth year of its existence with six professors, three lecturers, and one tutor. Throughout this period, sometimes peaceful, sometimes stormy, always until of late years uncertain, it has ever remained true to the Church, and resisted all blandishments, threats, and commands directed toward alienation. *In hoc signo vinco.*

It has gradually been united in closer bonds with the representatives of the Church through the Synods of the two Dioceses it now serves; and so intimate is this relationship that in an appeal bearing the signatures of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, and the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of Canada, dated July, 1889, the whole matter was summed up in the following unequivocal words:—

All who love their CHURCH and their COUNTRY must, if they will but consider for a moment, recognize the fact that the BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH IN THE FUTURE ARE BOUND UP WITH THE MAINTENANCE IN FULL EFFICIENCY OF KING'S COLLEGE.

It now remains to show in tabulated form the work of King's College in relation to the CHURCH during the past century.

TABLE I.

Table showing in decades the number of clergymen of the Church of England trained in King's College, Windsor, since 1790.

Decades.	Number of Ordained Clergymen.	At Present Serving in the Diocese of Nova Scotia.	Deceased, or Serving in other Dioceses.
1790-1800	7	—	7
1800-1810	4	—	4
1810-1820	9	—	9
1820-1830	24	—	24
1830-1840	14	4	10
1840-1850	25	7	18
1850-1860	25	6	19
1860-1870	30	7	23
1870-1880	24	9	15
1880-1890	39	22	17
Total	201	55	146

Attention is directed to the fourth column of this analysis, which shows how the funds of King's College have been used in providing clergymen for a vast extent of country now divided into separate Dioceses, and for carrying out the missionary character of the College as an auxiliary to the Church in other Provinces besides Nova Scotia. Churchmen will not lose sight of the encouraging fact that the combined strength of the Dioceses of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is now represented by 125,000 members of the Church of England.

TABLE II.

Number of Clergymen trained in King's College serving in the DIOCESE OF FREDERICTON.

Number direct from the College, 1845 to 1890	27
Number migrated from the Diocese of Nova Scotia to the Diocese of Fredericton	12
Total	39

TABLE III.

Table showing the relation to King's College of the clerical members of the Special Synod of the DIOCESE OF NOVA SCOTIA assembled July 6, 1887, the centennial year of the Diocese.

Clergymen from King's College, Windsor, — Degree Men	42
" " " Elective Students	10
Clergymen from other Colleges, — Degree Men	9
Clergymen from other Institutions, — without Degrees	36
	—
	97

SUMMARY.

King's College, Windsor	52
Other Colleges and Institutions	45
Total	97

TABLE IV.

DIOCESE OF NEW BRUNSWICK, 1887.

Clergymen from King's College, Windsor, — Degree Men	17
" " " Elective Students	6
Total	23

Number of Clergy in the Diocese, 75. Total number of King's College Clergymen in the two Dioceses, 75.

Apart from the CHURCH WORK of the University, which forms the special subject of this monograph, there remains to be recorded the numbers of its members in Arts and Engineering. The details properly form the subject of a separate notice, some of its graduates having attained positions of distinction and even of eminence.

During the century, the following degrees have been conferred: —

B.A.	327	B.C.L.	21
B.A. (<i>ad eundem</i>)	4	B.C.L. (<i>ad eundem</i>)	2
M.A.	116	D.C.L.	19
M.A. (<i>ad eundem</i>)	13	D.C.L. (<i>Hon.</i>)	38
M.A. (<i>Hon.</i>)	13	D.D.	14
M.D. (<i>ad eundem</i>)	5	D.D. (<i>Hon.</i>)	7
B.D.	15	D.D. (<i>ad eundem</i>)	2
B.D. (<i>ad eundem</i>)	1		

HENRY YOULE HIND.

Mexico : its Religious History.

WHAT is popularly known as the Conquest of Mexico was definitively accomplished on San Hipolito's Day, August 13, 1521. Briefly stated, it consisted of the capture of the Indian pueblo of Tenochtitlan,—the strongest military position known to the Indians under their system of warfare up to the sixteenth century; and it placed in the hands of Hernando Cortés a strategic point whence the complete subjugation of the country we now call Mexico was possible. Thus Christianity, represented by the rough Spanish conquistador and his followers, first gained a permanent foothold on the American continent.

But there are some historical incidents antedating the Conquest by several years which deserve our notice here. In fact, the religious history of Mexico might properly be said to begin with a famous series of bulls, well known to students of history, executed by Pope Alexander VI., in May and September, 1493. Of these, the most important to Mexico was that dated May 4, 1493, whereby, upon the principle the popes had succeeded in establishing, that newly discovered lands belonged to and were at the disposal of the Apostolic See, the dominion of "the most Catholic sovereigns of Spain" (Ferdinand and Isabella) was extended over all lands then discovered or still to be discovered by them or their agents in the New World. There was a condition annexed to this grant which especially commends it to our attention. It was to the effect that the "Catholic sovereigns manage to send to the mainland and islands good men, GOD-fearing, learned, well-taught, and expert, to instruct the inhabitants and natives in the Catholic Faith and to teach them good manners with all due diligence." The world is generally willing to concede to Spain a good title to Mexico for three centuries, on the grounds of discovery, conquest, and occupation; but it is well to know also that whatever title was potential in the Alexandrine bull was fully acquired by Spain by the strict fulfilment

on the part of the successors of Ferdinand and Isabella of the terms of this grant.

Christianizing efforts accompanied the earliest expeditions of discovery and attempts at conquest in Mexico. A priest, Alonso Gonzales by name, was with the expedition of Hernando de Cordova in 1517, and made the first Christian converts on the American continent. They were two Indians captured from among those who opposed De Cordova's landing in Yucatan. Their conversion was probably under duress of imprisonment, and we are left to imagine how thorough it was; but they were nevertheless baptized by Gonzales, and are reckoned as the first-fruits of Christianity in Mexico. It was upon the report taken back by De Cordova to Cuba, and finally reaching the Old World, that Pope Leo X., by bull dated Jan. 27, 1518, erected the Bishopric of Yucatan and appointed thereto the Bishop of Cuba. That prelate, however, never occupied his unconquered See, and the Bishopric of Yucatan was allowed to lapse.

Under the love of adventure and greed for gold actuating Cortés and his followers, zeal for Mother Church manifested itself throughout the remarkable series of events leading up to the capture and destruction of Tenochtitlan and the occupation of the country. It was not always tempered with judgment on the part of the rough old Spanish soldiers who had not been trained in the theological schools of Spain. But readers of the history of the Conquest should not forget one of the members of the military expedition of Cortés, Fray Bartolomeo de Olmedo. He was a member of the order of Our Lady of Mercy (a religious order founded in Spain in 1218); and he not only acted as chaplain for the Spaniards, saying Mass for them before battle, and giving Christian burial to such as fell, but he was also unremitting (albeit remarkably judicious) in his efforts to make converts among the Indians. His missionary labors began with the first landing in Cozumel in 1519, and were early crowned with success. He was assisted by Juan Diaz, a deacon, a man of less admirable character. Father Olmedo was a truly godly man, enthusiastic but reasonable, zealous but tolerant, often striving to instruct the Indians and bring them to a knowledge of Christianity, quite as often restraining the soldiers in their attempts to make converts *vi et armis*. Altogether, he was a missionary of whom any national Church might be proud.

If we are disposed to overlook a religious motive in the

Conquest, hidden as it was under more worldly motives, Father Olmedo never lost sight of it. He checked the tendency of the soldiers to celebrate the accomplishment of their task with bacchanalian orgies, and held a grand service in which the Spanish army marched in solemn procession and joined in singing *Te Deum*; and the faithful priest preached a noble sermon, touching upon the obligations all were under to Almighty GOD for preserving them and enabling them to receive the fruits of all their toils and privations. The labors of the good Father Olmedo ceased not with the Conquest. He remained in Mexico in charge of hospitals established there, and watching over Indian flocks gathered in, until his death at an advanced age in 1526.

The incidental efforts at evangelization before and pending the Conquest were followed by others equally desultory, immediately after. We have the names of twelve priests who were in Mexico while the Conquest was in progress or within a short time subsequently. These have left scarcely any history behind them, and were probably specimens of the sixteenth-century clerical adventurers. None of them, so far as is now known, had Papal or other competent authority for their presence in Mexico, nor is it probable that their presence there was a spiritual benefit either to the Spaniards or to the natives. It is, however, worthy of remark that churches were built in Vera Cruz, Texcoco, Tlaxcala, and in the city of Mexico, — the last-named prior to the year 1524, upon the site of the great Aztec teocalli. And in all of these Mass was said for the benefit of the Spanish soldiers and colonists.

The news that reached Spain in the year 1521, of a new and wealthy continent discovered and conquered, awakened not only a spirit of adventure and an ambition for wealth and glory in the New World, but also inspired the clergy of that age to go forth to win souls for CHRIST. Two Franciscans of the Province of Los Angeles obtained from Pope Leo X. a bull giving them authority as vicars-apostolic to go to Mexico and perform not only sacerdotal functions, but in the absence of bishops to perform Episcopal acts as well. In the midst of their preparations for the journey one of them died. The death of the Pope about the same time prevented the survivor from carrying out their scheme.

The successor of Leo X. was Adrian VI., the former teacher and warm friend of Charles V. Before him Charles laid the

spiritual needs of the lands of whose conquest he had just received advices, and an application to have these needs supplied resulted in the bull — the second issued in the Pontificate of Adrian VI. — giving authority to Charles V. to send missionaries to the Indies (for the idea still prevailed, even at the Vatican, that the newly discovered lands were the Indies), and giving to the missionaries of his appointment power to do everything not requiring express Episcopal investiture. Charles selected for this mission three Franciscans from Ghent, and they arrived in Tlaxcala early in 1522. Of these the most eminent was Pedro de Mura, famous in the history of Mexico as Pedro de Gante (Peter of Ghent). The three Franciscans began their missionary labors by studying the Indian languages and opening schools for the natives, wherein they taught reading and writing in Spanish, music, both instrumental and vocal, and the rudiments of the Christian Faith. The building of the city of Mexico on the site of the ancient pueblo of Tenochtitlan was not sufficiently advanced to permit them to extend their labors there, though they made the effort.

In his performance of the duties of a statesman, Cortés displayed no less ability than as conqueror. He was not unmindful of the necessity of religion to the welfare of the State. His letters to the Emperor display a solicitude for the spiritual improvement of the natives. This solicitude took the form of a suggestion in his letter dated at Cojohuacan (Coyoacan), May 15, 1522 (the famous *tercera carta*, the third of the published series of his letters), wherein he recounted the events of the final siege and capture of Tenochtitlan, recited the resources and advised as to the needs of the newly acquired territory. He suggested that missionaries be sent to New Spain charged with the duty of instructing the natives in the Christian Faith; and he wisely directs the attention of the Spanish monarch to the class of missionaries needed. He preferred members of the religious orders, and makes a distinction between "godly persons" and "pampered prelates."

Action upon these wise suggestions of the conqueror, made before the arrival of Pedro de Gante and his companions, was delayed for two years, probably in the belief that the three Franciscans already in the country were sufficient for the purpose. Finally, in May, 1524, under the authority of the bull of Adrian VI., Fray Martin de Valencia and eleven other Francis-

cans from the Franciscan Province of San Gabriel in Spain arrived in Vera Cruz and proceeded on foot toward the city of Mexico. They soon afterward came to be styled "the Twelve Apostles of Mexico." In Texcoco they were met by Pedro de Gante, and were accompanied by him the rest of their journey to the capital. Their entry into that city, June 23, 1524, was attended with much rejoicing on the part of the residents. Cortés, the chief men of his government, and the greater part of the population, came out to meet them, and the greeting they received was befitting an event which proved a notable one in the religious annals of New Spain.

Of the character of the Twelve Apostles of Mexico but one opinion can be expressed. They fully justified the expectations of Cortés, and proved themselves remarkably adapted to the work they had undertaken. Fray Valencia is known as the Father of the Mexican Church. Fray Torribio de Benevente was nicknamed at once by the Indians "Motolinia," — "the poor" or "wretched," — and he humbly accepted the name as the best that he deserved. He was an eminent chronicler of his age. Fray Francisco Ximenez was the author of the first grammar of the Aztec language. The others, though less eminent, were none the less active. Uniting with Pedro de Gante and his companions, "the Twelve Apostles" organized the Franciscan Province of Mexico, of which Fray Valencia was elected the Superior. Monastic houses were built in Texcoco, Tlaxcala, Huexotzinco, and in the city of Mexico, each the centre of an extensive work.

The Dominicans quickly followed the Franciscans. The first members of the order to arrive in 1526, under the leadership of Fray Tomas Ortiz, numbered all together, clerical, lay, and novices, only ten, and some of these returned to Spain very shortly. But others came in 1528, and still more in 1530, so that there were fifty Dominicans in Mexico in the latter year. Among them were Fray Domingo de Betanzos, the chronicler, and Fray Bernadino de Sahagun, no less distinguished for his missionary zeal and the purity of his life than as an historian. The earliest Dominican houses were established in the city of Mexico, Chimalpopoca, Coyoacan, Chalco, and Huaxtepec. A Dominican Province was erected in 1532 or 1533.

The religious history of Mexico in the sixteenth century is principally an account of the extension of these orders. To the

Franciscans is more largely due the credit of the evangelization of the country. The order took a deep root in the soil of the New World. Its work among the Indians was most zealously performed, and bore speedy fruits in bringing many Indians into the Church. Later, the firm hold it obtained upon its converts was employed in strengthening the Spanish rule in Mexico. Its work was so aggressive and so far-reaching that in seven years the Province of Mexico was recognized by bull of Clement XI., and it so enlarged its borders that other Provinces were successively carved thereout, until in 1606 there were five besides that of Mexico; namely, Yucatan, Guatemala, Michoacan, Jalisco, and Zacatecas. In the seventeenth century the order extended to Florida on the northeast and to Nicaragua on the south. The monastery in the city of Mexico was the centre of this widespread missionary enterprise. It was originally built soon after the arrival of the order, and enlarged from time to time as the order increased in numbers and in wealth, and was finally rebuilt on a scale of great magnificence in the eighteenth century. Humboldt pronounced it the grandest Church edifice in the country. There are fragments still remaining to attest its former magnificence.

The Dominicans realized a career of extension somewhat similar to that of the Franciscans. The Augustinians arrived in 1533, and other orders followed from time to time in the sixteenth century,—the golden age of missionary enterprise in Mexico.

In recounting the trials and difficulties (and they were many) these valiant soldiers of the cross faced in their work of evangelization, those for which the colonists were responsible are prominent. The colonists had introduced the iniquitous systems of slavery known as *encomiendos* and *repartimientos*. It was but natural that the Indians should dread all white men as their oppressors, failing to distinguish between the colonists, who were their actual oppressors, and the missionaries, who sought to ameliorate their condition. Nor did the religion of the white men, so long as it appeared to countenance the oppression of the natives, inspire their confidence. From the first the friars waged war incessantly upon the oppressive systems introduced by the colonists, and thus stirred up their resentment. Not content with the obstacles already opposed to missionary work, the colonists planned and executed others. Among other things

they denied the rationality of the Indians in such terms that the denial could only be met by an appeal to the Pope. Accordingly, a bull of Paul III., dated in 1536, declared the Indians quite capable of learning and adhering to the Christian religion. The colonists then brought charges against the friars of the three orders of not conforming to the rites prescribed by the Church. Probably there was some foundation for this charge; as, for example, when it became necessary to baptize multitudes of converts daily, the colonists asserted that by means of hyssop and holy water hundreds were baptized at a time. The University of Salamanca was appealed to, and finally the advice of the Pope was sought to quiet all doubts as to the validity of such baptisms. The bull of Paul III., dated June 15, 1537, defined the requisites of valid baptism in the case of the Indians, and the Motolinia states that under the provisions of this bull he was able, with the assistance of another priest, to baptize 14,200 persons within five days. This statement might be accepted as an indication of the number of natives converted under the Franciscan missionaries, were it not for the unfortunate tendency to hyperbole among the early chroniclers and a like tendency among those who have quoted their words. A letter of the first Bishop of Mexico is often quoted to the effect that a million Indians were baptized in the year 1531. The letter actually states the number to have been two hundred and fifty thousand; and the manner in which the outward signs of the progress of evangelization became exaggerated is illustrated by comparing a statement of the Motolinia with that of a later chronicler. The former states that in his time four million Indians were baptized. The latter explains that the Indians were accustomed to apply a number of times for the rite, in order to get each time "a new name and a new shirt." The early missionaries, not being practised in the Indian types, were unable to distinguish one from the other readily, and were thus often imposed upon, and baptized the same neophyte a great number of times.

It was difficult to root out the old religion; and baptism, even when regularly administered, did not in every case represent a soul wholly reclaimed from idolatry. The Indians were accustomed to secrete their idols within Christian temples, that they might really do homage to them, while placating the persistent missionaries by seeming to prostrate themselves before the sym-

bols of the Christian Faith. Others were readily induced to worship in Christian churches upon observing that stones formerly used in the heathen temples had been employed in the construction of the Christian churches. Even to this day, Aztec idolatry has never been wholly eradicated. A French writer of the past decade states that in grottos unexpectedly discovered he has often found himself in the presence of an Aztec idol at whose feet recent offerings of food had been placed; and it is well known to every traveller in Mexico that the rites of the Church are strangely mixed up at the present day with ceremonies that can be traced back to no other source than the Aztec worship.

The polygamous marriages permitted by the Aztec religion involved another appeal to the Pontifical chair; and when it was by bull declared that all but the first wife should be put away, or in case it was impossible to decide which was the first, the Aztec was to exercise the right of selection, the latter right was so much prized by the Indians that upon all questions of priority they were conveniently forgetful, greatly to the increase of the missionaries' labors and anxiety.

The work of reducing the liturgy and offices of the Church to the Nahuatl tongue naturally occupied much time, but was finally completed; and liturgies in that tongue were used, pending the education of the Indians in the use of the Spanish language. The first marriages of Indians according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church in the Nahuatl tongue were on Sunday, Oct. 14, 1526, in Texcoco. The same year witnessed the first confessions by Indians, and by that time they were admitted to Holy Communion. They were for a long time suspicious of the rite of extreme unction, and it was not urged upon them.

The extent of the missionary enterprises in Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be grasped upon glancing at a map of the country then known as New Spain. Every Spanish name on such a map is a religious name; and every town, village, or hamlet bearing such a name marks a point reached by the missionaries who kept abreast of the explorations and colonization of the country. The geographical names in Mexico tell a wonderful story of untiring missionary zeal. There were towns wholly built by the missionaries; Puebla, for example, whose foundations were laid in 1532 by the Motolinia

and others as a resting-place for travellers between Tlaxcala and the city of Mexico. The name it has borne until within the last twenty years — La Puebla de los Angeles ("the town of the angels") — attests the spirit in which it was founded. There are towns now within the limits of our land which were founded by missionaries from the city of Mexico. Missionaries were sent to Florida in 1547; and the Franciscans sent a missionary to Japan, Felipe de Jesus, who was crucified there in the sixteenth century, and has been canonized.

The Jesuits reached Mexico in September, 1572. It will be remembered that the Society of Jesus was not founded until 1534, after Franciscans and Dominicans were well established in the New World. They had fewer natural difficulties to contend with than the orders which had preceded them, but they experienced many vicissitudes in Mexico. They claim to have fostered learning in the New World.

Very early the question of creating a Bishopric in Mexico was agitated. To Padre Gante was tendered, in 1527, the mitre of a See to be created, and to include the whole of New Spain. It is offered in evidence of the disinterestedness of his missionary labor that he declined it. Thereupon the Spanish Emperor nominated Fray Juan de Zumarraga, and he was by Pope Clement VII. appointed Bishop of Mexico, suffragan to the Archbishop of Sevilla. He reached his See in 1528. In 1545 the Mexican Bishopric was declared by bull of Paul III. independent of Sevilla, and was erected into an Archbishopric, the bishop thereof being correspondingly advanced in dignity. Zumarraga, however, died in 1548, before the arrival of the pall; and the first actual Archbishop of Mexico was Fray Alonso de Montufar, like Zumarraga, a Dominican. Meanwhile the following Bishoprics had been created: Puebla (1526), Oaxaca (1535), Michoacan (1536), and Chiapas (1539).

The Bishop of Cuba, who, as we have seen, had been appointed to the Bishopric of Yucatan in 1518, was appointed to the See of Puebla. To Chiapas was sent as bishop, in 1544, Fray Bartolomeo de las Casas, one of the most striking characters in the age in which he lived. The greater part of his life had been devoted to ameliorating the condition of the Indians. He was seventy years of age when he entered upon his work in Chiapas, and remained only three years in that See. Then, crossing the Atlantic for the eighth time, he returned to Spain

to spend the remainder of his life in the retirement of a Dominican monastery. He lived to be over ninety years of age. Mexico is justly proud of his brief connection with her history.

Scarcely less remarkable and more illustrative of the character of the men selected for the building up of the ecclesiastical power in New Spain was Vasco de Quiroga,—an eminent jurist of Barcelona, who was sent to Mexico in 1529 as a Royal Auditor, and was made first Bishop of Michoacan in 1536. His subsequent career fully justified his rapid elevation from the laity to the Episcopate. His memory is revered, and is a moral force in the region where his See was established, even to this day.

Later the following Sees were created: Guadalajara (1548) and Yucatan (1562). So that in 1571, when the Archbishop of Mexico was made Primate of New Spain, he found himself at the head of a respectable hierarchy. Before the end of the sixteenth century provincial synods—three in number—were held, their acts being duly submitted to the Spanish monarch for approval, as well as to the Papal chair.

There can be no doubt as to the beneficial effects of the religious orders in the first century of their existence in Mexico, though it would be difficult to decide precisely how far they moulded the government and advanced civilization. They were largely responsible for the firm foundation the Spanish power obtained in the New World. The viceregal government, adopted in 1535 and continued until the overthrow of the Spanish dominion in 1821, was the suggestion of Zumarraga, and was generally under ecclesiastical influence. In default of a civil ruler, some prelate has frequently held the office of viceroy *ad interim*, and thus the names of ten prelates appear in the list of sixty-two viceroys. One of them held the office for six years, and another of them was appointed the second time. There were some notable instances in which the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were at variance, but in each case the victory belonged to the ecclesiastical power. The Dominicans were the dominating power. Their weapon was the Holy Office. It held its sway from the year 1572 until its final *auto de fé* in 1815, with but a short interval in 1814, and was officially suppressed in 1820. Its final activities were intended to sustain the tottering dominion of Spain in America, but they probably had the contrary result.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries present no such great names as are to be found in the earlier days of Christianity in Mexico. The religious orders continued to be a power in the land. Their sway was scarcely disputed. Mexico, cut off from the commerce of the world as it was by the colonial policy of Spain, was singularly free from Protestant influences. Although the first victims of the Inquisition in 1574 were named in the process "pestilent Lutherans," that does not positively indicate that they were actually followers of the great German leader of Protestantism. They were twenty-one in number. The leaven of Protestantism was not introduced until 1767, when the fourth Provincial Council of the Mexican Church was held. It was presided over by Archbishop Lorenzana, a man of marked ability and of pious memory. It attempted to introduce the Mozarabic liturgy into Mexico and to reform the Mexican Church by restoring to it the customs of the early Church. These efforts failed, but from that time forward a growing feeling of popular opposition to the Church is noticeable. All through the struggles for independence (1810-1821) the Church and the Spanish party were closely allied, notwithstanding the fact that Hidalgo, Morelos, and Matamoras, eminent leaders in the revolt of the colonies, were priests of the Church. They were treated as recalcitrants against the ecclesiastical power. The Holy Office levelled its decrees of excommunication at them. Morelos was the last victim of the Inquisition. He was shot in 1815.

Mexican independence was secured finally in 1821 by a political scheme which embraced a coalition of the Church with certain prominent revolutionists. No other chance to save herself was open to the Church than this shifting of her ground. Iturbide was a pronounced adherent of the Church. The Plan de Iguala, the proposed basis of independence put forth by him, provided the famous "Three Guarantees," the principal of these being "the Roman Catholic religion without toleration of any other," — an indication that Mexico was then not so isolated as to be removed from Protestant influences, and also that liberal ideas were abroad in the land and had assumed formidable proportions. It was this guarantee that gave the white stripe to the Mexican flag as it is to-day.

It is very difficult to separate the religious from the political history of Mexico in the present century, yet the political his-

tory of Mexico since the fall of the empire of Iturbide in 1823, and the establishment of the nominal republic, is too complex to be treated here. The liberal ideas were too widely diffused to be easily eradicated; and all through the early years of the quasi-republic there was the faint glimmer of a pending conflict between the Church and the State. Santa Anna, in most respects a fit type of a Mexican political leader, was, like Iturbide, disposed to champion the Church. He was at least anxious to receive aid from the Church's treasury and maintain his popularity with the Church's faithful children. His vice-president, Gomez Farias, to whom in 1833 he left the brunt of the fight, was an ultra-Liberal, and his Congress passed laws directly aimed at the power of the Church. They constituted the first open assertion on the part of the Government of opposition to the Church. They declared civil courts incapable of enforcing the payment of tithes, excluded the clergy from positions in schools supported by national funds, removed from civil tribunals the right to enforce monastic vows, and declared the members of religious orders free to abandon their monasteries or convents. Santa Anna resumed the control of the State and repealed these laws within a year; but the breach once made between the State and the Church was destined never to be wholly closed.

Any reliable picture of the condition of the Church in Mexico at any time in this century is far from pleasing, particularly when contrasted with a view, however meagre, of its establishment in the sixteenth century. If one half of what Abbé Domenech wrote upon the subject in 1867 be true, the Episcopate and the priesthood in Mexico were in a deplorable condition. There seemed to be no limit to the licentiousness and ignorance of the latter. The Indians were permitted to maintain many of their heathen rites and mix them up with the ceremonies of the Church. It is pointed out by a far more reliable writer than Abbé Domenech, and one who preceded him by a score of years, that to the colonial policy of Spain had been due the degeneracy of the noble work done by the missionaries of the sixteenth century. The rights of primogeniture forced the younger sons of Spanish families into either the army or the Church, and it necessitated the provision of secure and splendid establishments for them in either case. The latter presented the less dangerous and by all means the more desirable posi-

tions, and so in time all the lucrative and easy benefices in Mexico came into the hands of the profligate descendants of Spaniards.

But it was not the immorality of the priests nor the lack of spirituality in the Church that inspired the Liberal party in the Government to oppose her and plot her overthrow. The Church in Mexico was abnormally wealthy. It is not easy to estimate the amount of this wealth. The tendency of all writers has perhaps been to exaggerate it. The Abbé Domenech was probably in an admirable position to know; but his estimate seems greatly inflated. According to him more than half the productive land in the country, prior to 1861, was held in mortmain by the religious corporations or the clergy, their property being roughly estimated at \$300,000,000, and their annual revenue at \$20,000,000, — double the revenue of the State. A careful student of Mexican affairs in 1847 makes a far more modest estimate of the Church's wealth at that time. Giving the total population of Mexico as 7,000,000, he numbered the secular clergy at 3,500, the religious at 1,700, the professed nuns at 2,000. The monastic and conventional houses numbered over 200, of which the Franciscans possessed 68, the various female orders 58, the Dominicans 25, the remainder being divided among the Augustinians, Carmelites, and Mercedarios. The nuns possessed 1,700 estates, producing about \$560,000 annually, besides a floating capital of \$4,500,000, producing an annual income of \$250,000. The property of the other orders and the Church establishment was put down at \$90,000,000 tentatively, with the hint that could reliable data be obtained, the amount would be materially increased. These figures furthermore represented a considerable decrease since the outbreak of the war for independence, — of \$88,000,000 in the value of property, and of from 3,000 to 6,000 in the number of clergy.

To an impoverished Government such wealth was too tempting. It was exempt from taxation and was constantly increasing, so that it was but a question of time when the Church would absorb all the property of the country and constitute Mexico an immense ecclesiastical monopoly, to the complete destruction of the ambitious schemes of her secular rulers. It cannot be said that Mexico has at any time possessed many very astute statesmen. Its complex political history would certainly indicate that theories of political economy had been put aside for

personal ambitions. But it is evident that some one near the head of affairs, in the year 1856, had been studying a chapter of English history in the time of Henry VIII., and had received from the career of Cardinal Wolsey some useful suggestions as to how to deal with ecclesiastical wealth.

It was a long-gathering storm which broke in 1856, and the war that followed between the two political parties, Liberal and Conservative, each divided into numerous factions, had all the violence and some of the other notable features of a religious war. It is known in Mexican history as the "War of the Reform;" but the reformation of the abuses existing in the Church seems not to have been its principal object. Ignacio Comonfort was President in 1856. The Jesuits were expelled definitively by his decree. They had experienced strange vicissitudes in Mexico, having been expelled by decree of the Spanish Cortés in 1767, executed with great firmness by the viceroy, the Marquis of Croix, restored in 1816, expelled again in 1821, just before the downfall of the Spanish dominion, and restored again by Santa Anna in 1853. This action of Comonfort was not, therefore, without precedent, nor did it indicate any especial animosity toward the Church. But his antagonism was clearly denoted by the decree issued by him June 25, 1856, for the *desamortizacion* of the Church. It ordered the sale at an assessed value of all unimproved real estate belonging to the Church. The intention was that the Church should receive the proceeds of the sale, but the lands were to be freed from mortmain and to become part of the floating wealth of the country, capable of being improved and subject to taxation. Later in the same year an emergency arose which enabled Comonfort to assert a positive authority over the Church. A plot against his government was suspected among the Franciscans. He at once sent troops to take possession of their magnificent monastery in the City of Mexico, suppressed the order, confiscated all its property, and ordered a street opened through it. The street is a busy thoroughfare to-day, bearing the name of Independencia. The decree of suppression was subsequently revoked; but the Government having once shown itself stronger than the Church, the way was open for further depredations.

The next year Mexico adopted a new Constitution, which provided that ecclesiastical corporations should not acquire landed estates. A *golpe de Estado*, by Comonfort,—that is, a suspen-

sion of the Constitution,—precipitated the war. The Church party maintained a separate government in the city of Mexico, with a succession of presidents (*anti-presidents* they are now called); while after the flight of Comonfort from the country, his constitutional successor, Benito Juarez, was finally able to set up his government in Vera Cruz. The battle raged in all parts of the land, but was especially hot on the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre. Mexico, for forty years engaged in civil war and subjected to more than one invasion, never saw a more cruel war than this so-called "War of the Reform."

Benito Juarez was the student of English affairs of the fifteenth century, whose existence in Mexico has been discovered by the trend of political events. He was the mover of Comonfort's decree of *desamortizacion*. If any one is inclined to applaud that as an act demanded by public necessity,—national progress being at the time seriously impeded by the great ecclesiastical landed monopolies,—if any are disposed to admire the decree of *desamortizacion* as an act of statesmanship, what is to be said of the climax reached by Juarez in legislation against the Church?

By a decree issued by Juarez in Vera Cruz, July 12, 1859, all the property of the Church was "nationalized,"—that is, "sequestered,"—or, to speak still more plainly, "confiscated." This constitutes the basis of the famous "Reform Laws," of which the student of Mexican affairs sees and hears much. It was not because the Church was corrupt and her priests immoral that these "laws" were adopted, but because the Church was wealthy. She was, like Naboth, the possessor of a vineyard, which, as the inheritance of her ancestors, she declined to sell or give away to a government in financial distress. Furthermore, the motive of revenge was present. Whoever had struck the first blow in the war then in progress, the Government of Juarez was at that time getting the worst of it. It was an exile from its rightful capital, prevented from exercising its rightful authority. All this was to be retaliated upon the Church, encouraging and supporting the anti-presidents. Speak of economic necessities, as those will who in considering the corruptions of a Church are blind to her rights, the fact remains that the Mexican Government by force of arms robbed the Church of her property and dissipated it as all its other funds were dissipated,—in war.

The decree of Juarez was not at once executed, excepting in

his temporary capital. It awaited the defeat of the anti-presidential and Church party at the battle of Calpulalpam, fought Dec. 23, 1860, and the opening of the way for the return to the capital of the Juarez Government. The reoccupation of the city of Mexico by the "legitimate" Government occurred Jan. 11, 1861. The army of Juarez had preceded its chief by about two weeks; and forthwith the "Reform Laws" began to be executed with brutal energy. Reckless soldiers were the instruments of their execution. Buildings were dismantled and left to decay. Bells were taken from towers and sent to the ordnance foundries. Altars were destroyed. Jewels and plate were stolen. Pictures were sent to the San Carlos Academy of fine arts, and the rich monastic libraries were after a time made the national library, and housed in the confiscated monastery of San Agustin. Streets were opened through the properties of the monasteries, and the lands were sold to the highest bidders or given up to favorites of the Government. If any one would see with how heavy a hand the "Reform" has fallen upon the city of Mexico, let him pass through the streets of that city and note the number of buildings now devoted to secular, and in some cases to base uses, but still marked with sacred monograms and other sacred symbols denoting their once having belonged to the Church. Let him also take note of the old streets, which by their names indicate the former extent of the Church property; and also of the new streets, indicating by their names — "Independencia," "Cinco de Mayo," etc., names intended to be patriotic — that they were opened up through these properties in obedience to the decrees of the "Reform." Other cities of the republic suffered, but not so much. Some far distant from the track of the Liberal Government escaped spoliation.

The monastic orders were suppressed completely. The suppression of the nunneries soon followed. There was something dramatic in the manner in which this was done at the capital. When all had been arranged, the bell of the Church of Corpus Christi was tolled at midnight, Feb. 13, 1863. Thereupon two of the convents were vacated, the inmates distributing themselves among the other ten. Less than a month later all the orders were suppressed, with the exception of the Sisters of Charity. They remained until 1874. The suppression of the religious orders was not accompanied by the total expulsion from the country of the members, save in the case of the nuns.

Many of the individual members of monastic orders remained in the country to join in the work of the secular clergy.

The setting up of the Second Empire and its continuance until the cruel execution of the Emperor Maximilian in 1867 held the decrees of the Republican Government somewhat in abeyance. Maximilian was a devout Romanist, but did not, because he could not, abrogate the "Reform Laws." He furthermore failed to meet the expectations of the clerical party. He could not blind himself to the abuses existing in the Church, and he made conscientious but unavailing efforts to correct them. He was considerably shocked upon discovering localities which had never felt the Church's evangelizing influence.

Upon the re-establishment of the republic, the work of "Reform" went forward. It was not without opposition, even from the Liberals, that the Sisters of Charity were exiled in 1874. The Constitution of 1857 was so amended in 1873 as to embody the famous "Reform Laws," and forever separate the Church from the State. As now amended, Congress is utterly deprived of the power of making laws for establishing or suppressing any religion whatever; and the establishment of monastic orders is prohibited without regard to denomination or object. To exhibit further the attitude of the Liberal party toward religion, marriage has been instituted as a civil contract, and affirmations have been substituted for oaths in testimony.

There are now in Mexico three archiepiscopal Sees, eighteen Bishoprics, and one Vicariate-Apostolic. The Churches are nearly nine thousand in number, the baptized membership being estimated at nearly ten millions. The National Government is only disposed to patronize Protestantism because it finds itself thereby somewhat assisted in its assertions of authority over the Romish Church. The coat-of-arms of the republic, blazoned on the front of the great cathedral in the city of Mexico, emphasizes the attitude of the State toward the Church. The upper classes (and these represent the governing power) have not become Protestants, but have lapsed into atheism. Some of the churches were purchased by devout men of wealth, and are opened for public worship. But there are many dismantled ecclesiastical structures in the capital and elsewhere to attest the bitterness of the war between Church and State and which was the victor in the struggle.

The Church still has her strongholds. Morelia is one of

them. She has her literary organ in the capital, whose dicta are sometimes respected by the Government. Religious processions are prohibited by law; yet they are sometimes to be seen in provincial Mexico, as well as the kneeling of the passers-by when the host is borne through the streets. These are never seen in the capital; but the peasantry uncover their heads when they pass a church, even in the capital.

The Mexican priests, particularly in the large cities, live somewhat secluded lives. They are even restricted by law as to the dress they shall wear when on the street. There are some evidences that the Church is regaining its lost wealth. Attention has been given to Church improvements of late. But the Church will hide her wealth more carefully than she did forty years ago, and will not excite the cupidity of a government which is now less distracted by debt and revolutions than it was then, better able to develop the natural resources of the country, and actually solving some of its financial problems, but is nevertheless inimical to religion, and constitutionally prevented from openly countenancing Protestantism as well as Romanism.

ARTHUR HOWARD NOLL.

Fundamental Elements of Religion.

- (1) *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series. The Fundamental Institutions.* By W. ROBERTSON SMITH, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge; New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1889.
- (2) *The Unknown God; or, Inspiration among Pre-Christian Races.* By C. LORING BRACE. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. 1890.
- (3) *The Beginnings of Religion. An Essay.* By THOMAS SCOTT BACON. London: Rivingtons. 1887.
- (4) *The Permanent Elements of Religion. The Bampton Lectures for the year 1887.* By W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D., Bishop of Ripon. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1889.

DR. ROBERTSON SMITH'S volume contains the first of the three courses of lectures on the Burnett foundation, University of Aberdeen, on "The Primitive Religions of the Semitic Peoples, viewed in Relation to other Ancient Religions, and to the Spiritual Religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity." This is a painstaking attempt to trace, not only the relations of the primitive religions of the Semitic peoples to those of other ancient religions, but to go farther than that, to ascertain what were the foundations of those primitive and ancient religions. Dr. Robertson Smith nowhere seeks to bias his readers by eloquent or pretty writing; far from it. Patiently, quietly,—we might even add, coldly,—he investigates the ancient institutions, tracing each outgrowth back to its origin. When once this is done, and the root laid bare, he passes on without any disquisition to the next branch of this inquiry. At the outset it may as well be said that while we agree in the main to the deductions proper to his subject, we by no means indorse his assertions concerning the authorship of Deuteronomy and Amos, and other interjected statements. After an exposition of the subject and method of inquiry, he passes on to consider the nature of the religious

community and the relation of the gods to their worshippers. The conclusion arrived at is that "in a Semitic community men and their gods formed a social and political as well as a religious whole." It is easy to perceive how a god of a community, in exchange, as it were, for the worship he received, became bound to defend that community, and hence to be hostile to a hostile community. Thus, therefore, a god, being the god of a community in its social relations, necessarily became a god in its political relations; for a man leaving a community, and becoming a social unit in another, entered thereby into political relations with the god of the new community. The god of the new community henceforth became his god; and the god he had left in his old community was henceforth looked upon as politically hostile. A change of nationality involves a change of cult. Nor is this primitive idea extinct yet. A daughter of a reigning house adopts the cult of the nation whose ruler she marries. Take, for instance, the present accommodating House of Denmark. The daughters are brought up Lutherans; one marries an Englishman, and thenceforward becomes an Anglican Catholic; another marries a Russian, and thenceforward becomes a Greek Catholic. "Thy people shall be my people, and thy GOD my GOD," was no new utterance when spoken by Ruth, nor has it grown stale since then. Since each community had its own gods, which were bound up with the political existence of their worshippers, hence when one community was fused with another, a like fusion of gods occurred. One god arose from that fusion, having the attributes of the two former gods. When many deities, through conquest of many communities, were brought suddenly together and without time for fusion, then these rival deities became allied deities, each working for the common good of the welded communities, but each still having distinct attributes or peculiarities. If one community, as is frequently the case, grew to be the ruler of the others, then the god whom that community had brought into the common stock acquired a leadership over the other gods.

The relation of the gods to their worshippers was primarily that of physical fatherhood. Each tribe traced its descent from its god; but when political relations confused the simple tribal notions, then since each community within the Commonwealth or State traced its descent back to a different god, so that there could not be one god as the ancestor of the whole State, the

next relation of the gods to their worshippers became that of kingship.

The next step is to consider the relations of the gods to natural things. Undoubtedly, just as communities were circumscribed by natural boundaries, — mountains, rivers, or forests, — so likewise were their gods circumscribed and limited to locality. Hence certain places, nay, certain things, — stones, trees, — became associated with the deity. The deity dwelt in them as the soul in man, further, was confined in those things, and distance from those things which held the deity diminished the force of the deity just as distance from a man diminished his power for good or evil. Hence we have the land of the god, which is coextensive with the land of his worshippers and the sanctuary, or particular spot where he abides. After a while follows the natural deduction that if certain benefits are procurable only in certain places or derivable only by certain means, it must be by reason of certain unknown deities who govern such places or such means. Hence a community not only has its tribal god, but also its local gods, — gods of rain, of streams, of corn, of fruit. From the local god the passage is easy to the god of special providences; that is, of gods influencing men's lives at certain stages, such as giving or withholding prosperity, fertility, and increase of life, vegetable, animal, and human; hence gods of the sexes, gods and goddesses.

Then comes in religion, which we define to be *the duty of man toward the Deity*. A tribal god is honored by the tribe in ways which, as we have seen, soon merge into what we call politics. A local god, having a special place whence its influence radiates, receives honor at that place, which becomes holy, which becomes a sanctuary. A god of providence which evidently cannot well be localized, since the seasons and the weather play so prominent a part in the well-being of individuals, is honored by such rites as ascend heavenward. In relation to sanctuaries, it is a just observation of Dr. Robertson Smith that —

In later times the home or sanctuary of a god was a temple, or, as the Semites call it, a 'house' or 'palace.' But as a rule, the sanctuary is older than the house, and the god did not take up his residence in a place because a house had been provided for him; but on the contrary, when men had learned to build houses for themselves, they also set up a house for their god in the place which was already known as his home [p. 107].

The temple is the materialization of the holiness of a place. It gives a permanence to a transient presence. How often indeed have not Christian shrines been erected on spots hallowed by visions or reported miraculous manifestations of the Deity!

Not gods, but allied to them and to man,—or, as the Greeks fabled it, children of immortals by a mortal parent,—are the demons, sprites, jinns, fairies, or supernatural beings, able to hinder, vex, and retard man, yet without the power of the gods to control his destinies. Supernatural beings of this order have always been supposed to have the lower animal creation and all vegetation at their control. They work their will against man under the form of bulls, swans, birds, trees, and flowers. Each kind of animal or tree or flower is supposed to be a kind of Masonic community, bound to revenge insults or injuries to one of its members, and has as its patron, not a god, but a demon, jinn, or sprite. Man in his war against Nature, the more he is successful, emancipates himself from all fear of these supernatural beings, and emerges dependent only upon the gods who all along this warfare he has looked upon as being on his side. Man's God became Nature's God, and not the reverse, as is unthinkingly said, that Nature's God is man's God.

Passing on to holy places in relation to man, or in other words, to what constituted holiness, we see at once that holiness is outward,—that if the place, the thing, the ceremony, the bodily man, is holy, the place is not holy by reason of the presence of the deity; the thing is not holy as the means of spiritual progress; the ceremony is not holy as the symbol of holiness; the man is not holy by reason of the holiness within. All such things are holy only because they are tabooed, set aside for the service of the deity. Ministers of the gods were undoubtedly at first but the custodians of the rights of the deity, and to preserve them from all infringements by man. The transition from guarding the inherent rights of the deity to that of guarding the acquired rights, was imperceptible, though certain; and among the latter ones policy and prudence taught that the fugitive who appealed from his fellow-man to the deity should be as holy as the ground he stood on. Since to kill animals on the tabooed land was soon recognized as trespassing on the rights of the god, so it followed that the killing of any man within these limits was a usurpation of these rights, much more

so when the man consciously and of set design sought refuge therein. The law of hospitality, so strong among Semitic races, also threw its ægis of safety round the guest of the god, who surely ought not to fall behind man in his hospitality and in his protection of his guests. The feud which broke out on the slaying of a kinsman or guest naturally became by parity of reason the feud of the god, when those who were in a stricter sense his children, clients, ministers, or guests, were injured or slain.

From the preservation of life to the bestowal or increase of life is a short step. Therefore wherever wells, springs, fountains, and rivers (more especially their sources) were to be found in lands so dependent on water as the Eastern continents, they naturally soon became holy, as the special habitat of the god. They exerted a twofold claim, possessed a twofold influence, and therefore such localities would increase in holiness more rapidly than places where no water was. It is a common idea to suppose that the stream or spring was an additional claim to the holiness of sanctuaries. Far from it. It was in most cases, if not in all, a primary claim. The sanctuary was there because of the water, not the water because of the sanctuary. When in after ages the Persian king had, as the poet tells us, as a mark of his royalty, —

Near his hand the regal silver urn,
Filled with the sparkling lymph,
Which, whatsoever the distance, pure Choaspes
Sends to the lips of Achæmenian kings, —

it was but a survival of the primitive conception that the tutelary deity resided in the waters, or could be more safely and surely approached on its banks.

These waters of physical healing became waters of spiritual life, and conversely, waters of spiritual life became waters of physical healing. So far the relations between the deity and man have been principally thought on; but there is the other side of the picture, — those of man to the deity, or how to preserve the Divine favor, how to retain the Divine presence within the sanctuary, how to conciliate, propitiate, and appease the god. Here we enter on the wide domain of sacrifice, which the Bishop of Ripon, in his work, completely ignores as a permanent element of religion. The law of ebb and flow of the ocean, or of the

refraction of the sun's rays, might as equally have been ignored in a work on the permanent elements of Nature. Sacrifice is coeval with the first perception or conception of a deity, however vague or however gross. It is the reflex action of such a perception. The primitive man perceives the results of an unseen, unknown power; he conceives a deity; that power, that deity, is somehow essential to his well-being, and accordingly he dreads either its removal or its exertion against himself. All arguments are from the known to the unknown. The most primitive of men has perceived the value of gifts,—gifts to his enemies, gifts to his friends. Sacrifices are gifts to the gods. The first gifts were undoubtedly those of food; of the same food the offerer ate,—rice, corn, or such like, placed at the entrance of the holy place, or cast on the waters. The altar, or table, was a later development, so was the consumption of the offerings by fire. The process of what we might call the civilization of sacrifices kept time with the advance in material comfort of man. The offering would be presented first in the rudest manner, then on some leaves or skin, or heaped-up stones. Then would appear a ritual or ceremonies attendant on the offering. The offerings would next be of animal life. Having arrived at this stage, we come immediately to a dual aspect of gifts to gods,—the shedding of the blood, which is the life, and the eating of the flesh of the victim. Hence all ancient altars were both altars and tables. The words are perpetually being interchanged. Then we have the sharp distinction of the word "sacrifice." "Sacrifice" is kept to denote the offering of the life of the victim to the deity. The bond of kinship having been strengthened or reforged by the sacrifice, the feud having been allayed by the death of the victim, the relations of children to a father, of kinsman to kinsman, of guest to host, are once more restored; and the victim affords the wherewith for the feast of reconciliation. What, then, was the distinction which sufficed to make one animal a sacrifice, and the other a mere article of food? Evidently the place of killing. At first, certainly not the mode of killing made the sacrifice, though later on that became part of the ritual of the sacrifice. The altar made the sacrifice. Our LORD stated a deep universal truth when He exclaimed: "Whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift?" The stone against which, or upon which the blood had been shed, gradually became the structural altar.

Prof. Robertson Smith claims that the sacred stone,—that is to say, that stone which had been from the outset associated with the god, as marking his most favorable presence,—did not become the altar, but maintained its more sacred character as the actual meeting-place of man and god. He says:—

The sacred stone is more than altar, for in Hebrew and Canaanite sanctuaries, the altar, in its developed form, as a table, or hearth, does not supersede the pillar; the two are found side by side in the same sanctuary,—the altar as a piece of sacrificial apparatus, and the pillar as the visible symbol or embodiment of the presence of the Deity, which in process of time comes to be fashioned and carved in various ways, till ultimately it becomes a statue or anthropomorphic idol of stone, just as the sacred tree or post was ultimately developed into an image of wood [p. 187].

Religion, which we have defined to be the duty of man toward the Deity, has ever required a meeting-place between man and the Deity, between the god and the worshippers. The ancient pillar, or cairn, was considered to be *not* the god, but the abode of the god, very much as we consider a wire or a battery to be the abode of electricity. It was as Jacob said: "And this stone which I have set for a pillar shall be GOD'S house," Gen. xxix. 22. Where the sacred stone, or pillar, stands convenient for the sacrifices of the worshipper, it becomes an altar; but where not, it retains its distinctive sacredness, and in a convenient spot for the sacrifices or the sacrificial meal, or both, an altar is set up, not sacred in itself, but sacred when sacrifices have been offered on it.

The one supreme act of worship was that centred round the sacrifice; and ancient ritual, equally with modern, all turned upon the ministrations at the altar. No religion has yet been found without sacrifice. It is "the typical form of all complete acts of worship." The three distinctions which separate all Semitic sacrifices can be said to mark all sacrifices: (1) Between animal and vegetable; (2) Between offerings consumed by fire and those merely set forth on the sacred table, or altar; (3) Between sacrifices wholly made over to the god, and those at which the gods and the worshippers partake.

The material of the sacrifice, it must be remembered, was always what the offerer considered food. Man never offered his gods that which he did not consider edible. Hence the sac-

rifices were looked upon as the food of the gods. Further, while man ate the product of the chase, he only offered what he himself raised, the product of his industry or care. The Hebrews, for example, did not sacrifice camels or swine, though the Arabs offered the one and the Greeks the other, because they did not eat camel or swine flesh. Again, deer, gazelles, wild fowl, game, and fish were eaten by the Hebrews, but never sacrificed. Of animal or vegetable oblations, animal have ever been esteemed the most valuable. Where animal sacrifice could be procured, other sacrifices were looked upon as either substitutes or supplementary. Animal sacrifices alone afforded the sacrificial meal. When fruit, grain, or such like offerings were made, they were either left on the altar, or table, or consumed by fire. The reason why wine was poured out as a libation, and not drunk, when offered alone, was undoubtedly that wine was looked upon as a substitute for the blood of the victim. The Hebrew ritual showed this most markedly, for even when animals were sacrificed and consumed by fire, the wine was not poured over the flesh, but was poured out at the base of the altar, like the blood.

The assertion that at first men always considered the food they offered as being consumed by the gods is, we think, too positive. That some worshippers deemed this the case is undoubted, though we are inclined to believe that most looked upon it as an offering of the best they had, and that the deity gathered fresh strength, was refreshed, cheered, and pleased by the offering; that the life, the savor of the sacrifice, was absorbed by the deity. Hence, if this view is correct, it is easy to account for the very early spiritualization of sacrifices by their consumption by fire. Where fire was not or could not be resorted to, the part of the sacrifice especially deemed pleasing to the deity was the libation. A fluid is easily absorbed, and when that fluid contains the cheering and strengthening principle of wine, it becomes more pleasing; when it contains the life-like blood, it naturally becomes the most acceptable of all libations.

Oil, as Dr. Robertson Smith justly points out, was not used as a libation, but as a propitiatory additional ceremony.

At the distinction between oblations shared by the worshipper and oblations given over to the deity to be consumed or left on the altar or consumed by the priests, and its correspondence to the distinction between animal and vegetable sacrifices, we have

already glanced. The distinctions according to the Levitical ritual on these points, after putting on one side the *piacula* and whole burnt offerings, is well brought out by Dr. Robertson Smith.

The animal victim was presented at the altar and devoted by the imposition of hands ; but the greater part of the flesh was returned to the worshipper, to be eaten by him under special rules. It could be eaten only by persons ceremonially clean,—that is, fit to approach the deity ; and if the food was not consumed on the same day, or in certain cases within two days, the remainder had to be burned.¹ The plain meaning of these rules is that the flesh is not common, but holy,² and that the act of eating it is a part of the service, which is to be completed before men break up from the Sanctuary.

The *zibah* (or sacrifices partaken of), therefore, is not a mere attenuated offering in which man grudges to give up the whole victim to his God ; on the contrary, the central significance of the rite lies in the act of communion between God and man, when the worshipper is admitted to eat of the same holy flesh, of which a part is laid upon the altar as 'the food of the deity.' But with the *minha* (or offerings to the deity) nothing of this kind occurs ; the whole consecrated offering is retained by the deity, and the worshipper's part in the service is completed as soon as he has made over his gift. In short, while the *zibah* turns on an act of communion between the deity and his worshippers, the *minha*, as its name denotes, is simply a tribute [p. 222].

Before leaving this part of the subject, we must clearly bear in mind that the sacrificial food partaken of by the priests was not partaken of by them as worshippers, nor as their share as a reward or offering for their services, but as being of the family or clan of the deity. The food the priest takes off the altar he receives from the deity, not the worshipper. He belongs to the same household as the deity.

The question which will be raised is perhaps, Which of these three classes of sacrifices is the most ancient? The animal sacrifice has been shown to be the typical sacrifice; is it the most ancient? To that the answer is: The *minha*, or tributal offering, is the least ancient, since agriculture is less ancient than the nomadic life ; the *zibah*, or the sacrificial meal on the flesh of a victim as an act of communion with the deity, is clearly therefore more ancient than the cereal tribute.

¹ Lev. vii. 15, *et seq.*; xix. 6; xxii. 30.

² Hag. ii. 12; cf. Jer. xi. 15; lxx.

That all slaughter was originally sacrificial there can be little doubt; therefore, as slaughter preceded both the *zibah* and the *minha*, we may fairly conclude that animal sacrifice is not only the typical, but the more ancient sacrifice. Still, a further consideration awaits us. It is true that agriculture succeeded the chase, but is it not equally true that vegetable food (wild cereals, etc.) preceded the chase? If such was the case, as we conceive it to be, then the order of sacrifices would be thus:

1. Wild fruits, cereals, etc.
2. Animal, the slaughter of which was essentially sacrificial, and thus the *zibah*.
3. Cultivated cereals, fruit, etc., and thus the *minha*.

The agricultural tribute soon became to be considered a matter of recurring obligation,—that is, at the ingathering of the harvest,—and tribute and tithe became practically controvertible terms for such offerings. A tribute was the offering to the deity as the lord of the soil, and not as a sacrifice, propitiatory or expiatory. Hence, when kings or rulers arose, they claimed the tribute, or tithe; and Dr. Robertson Smith rightly, we conceive, maintains that, for example, in Solomon's time, the "maintenance of the royal sanctuary was a charge on the king's tithes; and so we find that a tenth directly paid to the sanctuary forms no part of the temple revenues referred to in 2 Kings xii. 4."

All sacrifices coming under the category of sacrificial communion feasts tended to develop the social element of worship; and religion, from being primarily the duty of man to the deity, came to have an enlarged meaning, and the duty of man to man was superadded. Thus was added to the law of sacrifice the law of union. The first duty was not abrogated, but it was felt that when that was paid, the worshippers were, by their tie to the deity, men of the same household, and therefore entitled to make merry together. The effect of this on the nation and community is concisely stated by Dr. Robertson Smith: "The conception of man's chief good, set forth in the social act of sacrificial worship, is the happiness of the individual in the happiness of the community" [p. 249].

The sacrificial meal being found everywhere, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, what was its origin? Undoubtedly, in the fact that by a meal alone was a man received into kinship. The savage in the present day is admitted into the kin, or clan, not by his coming of age, but by the common

feast, held at his coming of age. The feast admits. The man's majority only fixes the time for the feast. Foe becomes friend, not by the compact, but by the common feast. The origin of the sacrificial meal is to be found, then, not in the family meal, but in the common feast of the clans or kinsmen. In other words, it is to be found in the feast at which the god is the guest, or host; he is not at a private meal, but he is at a public meal.

Before concluding this subject of sacrifice, which our learned professor, has, unlike our eloquent but superficial bishop, found to be a fundamental institution of all religions, we will lay before our readers a catena of passages, which, if read in the light of the Holy Eucharist, show how the Christian Sacrifice, if it is to validate, as the Catholic Church has always believed, all heathen or Jewish sacrifices, must be both a sacrifice and a feast; and that the ancient Fathers and Liturgies spake not unadvisedly when they called GOD'S Board both a Table and an Altar, and by preference a Table, for a Table presupposed an Altar:

For most rituals it is not sufficient that the worshipper should present his service on holy ground. It is necessary that he should come into contact with the god himself [p. 196].

The Greeks and Romans poured the sacrificial wine over the flesh; but the Hebrews treated it like the blood, pouring it at the base of the altar. In Ecclesiasticus the wine so treated is even called the blood of the grape, from which one is tempted to conclude that here also blood is the typical form of libation, and that wine is the surrogate for it [p. 213].

The plain meaning of these (Levitical) rules is that the flesh is not common, but holy, and that the act of eating it is a part of the service which is to be completed before men break up from the sanctuary [p. 221].

The central significance of this rite (the *zebah*) lies in the act of communion between God and man [p. 222].

What a ministrant receives as a fee, comes from the worshipper; what the priests as a whole receive, comes from the deity [p. 223, note].

In public religion the law holds good that there is no sacred feast without a victim [p. 224, note].

We can affirm that the idea of the sacrificial meal as an act of communion is older than sacrifice in the sense of tribute [p. 227].

No sacrifice was complete without guests [p. 236].

The crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides, dressed in their gayest attire, marching joyfully to the sound of music [*Ibid.*].

Everywhere we find that a sacrifice ordinarily involves a feast, and that a feast cannot be provided without a sacrifice. For a feast is not complete without flesh [p. 237].

When men meet their god, they feast and are glad together, and whenever they feast and are glad, they desire that the god should be of the party [*Ibid.*].

Every act of worship expressed the idea that man does not live for himself only, but for his fellows [p. 247].

An institution like the sacrificial meal, which occurs with the same general features all over the world, and is found amongst the most primitive peoples, must in the nature of things date from the earliest stage of social organization [p. 258].

Space forbids any comment on the above; and the intelligent reader needs none. Let him, however, bear in mind that the Eucharist is not a reminder of a meal, but every meal a reminder of the Eucharist. If he does, he will perceive the signification of the origin of the sacrificial communion feast as given above (p. 147), as to be found not in the family feast, but in the common feast of the clansmen or kinsmen at which the deity of the clan is present.

We have alluded more than once to the Bishop of Ripon's book. Being a bishop's book, and the Bampton lectures for 1887, it deserves more than a stray allusion, though in point of ability, scholarship, and honesty to the founder's intentions, the lectures of late years have fallen considerably below the mark. The lectures for 1887 were only published last year,—that is, after an interval of two years.

Delay is always to be regretted in such cases, and is certainly contrary to the express terms of the founder's will, who plainly directed that "thirty copies of the eight Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be always printed within two months after they are preached." The Bishop of Ripon's excuse does not mend matters. It is, "The lectures, I should explain, are little better than corrected short-hand writers' reports." Now, we consider that when a man is called to lecture on any foundation, and more so on one so eminent as the Bampton one, he should have his lectures all written out well beforehand, subject of course to

such after-touches as he may have noticed necessary when delivering them. Had the matter of the lectures been of first-rate excellence, we should have felt compelled to enter this protest; but when we find the matter of inferior quality, as we do in this case, we feel doubly bound to do so. The Bishop of Ripon has the reputation of being an eloquent preacher. He may be; but he is certainly not a convincing writer. Fine words have fine wings. They flew away before even the short-hand reporter could catch them. The Bishop endeavors to write in quasi-scientific style, but forgets that the first requisite in all scientific writing is clearness of definition. The writer must not only himself know what he means by the terms he uses, but must likewise clearly make his readers so understand them. The title he has chosen to give these lectures is *The Permanent Elements of Religion*. If he did not intend to use "religion" in its every-day sense, as the duty of man toward the Deity, then he should have defined at the outset the meaning he gave to it. He is far from doing this, though he heads a section of his introduction, "Definitions of Religion," where he favors us with over twenty definitions, mostly from German writers, but quietly slips away from us without a definition of his own. Most of the German definitions confound morality with religion. Even Goethe's definition is not free from that mistake. He stated that "a threefold reverence has to be called forth in man by religion,—a reverence for what is above, for what is around, and for what is beneath us." The trouble with all these definitions is that the makers of them see through the spectacles of Christianity, though they would, we suppose, scorn the idea. Religion in its simple form concerns only the relation of man to Deity. In its Christian form that is equally true, but from the Christian religion flows a corollary that man's duty to the Deity includes man's duty to man; in other words, that morality is included in religion. Taking religion in its narrowest sense, as the duty of man to a deity, we pass on to inquire what are the "Permanent Elements of Religion." The Bishop states them as three,—dependence, fellowship, and progress. He then proceeds to discuss what have been the permanent elements in the past, what are those demanded by modern thought, and whether Christianity has these three permanent elements or not. It is needless to state that he comes to the conclusion that Christianity has them, and that therefore Christianity will be per-

manent. Very briefly stated, such is the summary of these eight lectures. We certainly cannot agree with the Bishop in any of his stages, except, of course, the last, but not upon the grounds he gives. Having confused morality with religion at the outset, he never sees clearly where morality logically begins or ends. He gives us four laws which govern religion: (1) The law of environment; (2) The law of organism; (3) The law of sacrifice; (4) The law of indirectness. And he states that "the existence of these gives us a guarantee of the survival of religion and the conditions on which any religion can hope to survive among men" [p. 1].

The first law he defines, "As we think, we are;" the second, "As we are, we see;" the third, "No pains, no gains;" the fourth, "A man cannot perfect himself in anything if he seek perfection directly."

No doubt all this sounded very fine when spoken; but examined in cold blood, what does it mean? The first means that a man's religion is according to his thoughts; the second that it is according to his heredity,—in other words, that our religion is colored by our character; the third means self-sacrifice; the fourth means the absence of self-consciousness. That all these four laws govern the ideal Christian is quite true. But the last two are dependent upon one not here included,—the law of union. The savage, equally with the Christian and the Agnostic, is governed by the first two, his thoughts and his heredity; but the savage does not obey the last two. The reason that he does not is that the law of union is unknown to him. Before we can willingly surrender ourselves for another or lose our own consciousness in thought, we must have realized the calls of sympathy, feeling for others, suffering for others, loving others,—in a word, all those various calls which may be classified under the law of union, a law which is permanent and essential in religion. Permanent, if what has been shall be; essential, if man shall be what he has been. We have seen that the principle underlying the approach to the deity by man in all ages has been the feeling of claiming kinship or union with the god. It is natural that as the Bishop of Ripon ignored the law of sacrifice as a fundamental or permanent element of religion, he should overlook the law of union, which is coeval with the law of sacrifice. Both these laws have affected man in all periods of his history, not only in his relations to the deity, but in those to his fellow-

man. The Bishop shows evidence of a wide reading in light literature which is as admirable as it is rare in a bishop. But the penalty of discursive reading is discursive thought; and it is only a man of commanding intellect that can escape incurring the penalty. The Bishop of Ripon has incurred the penalty.

Side by side with the permanent elements which have ever characterized religion, there have been equally permanent principles which have characterized the dealings of the Deity to man.

Man has never lost sight of the twin laws of sacrifice and union in his relations to GOD. GOD has never withheld His light from mankind.

The history of man in his efforts to reach GOD may be likened to a rower endeavoring to reach, through darkness and storm, a lighthouse.

With the oars of sacrifice and union he labors on. The Light of the World ever shines through the darkness; and man in the darkness comprehends not its nature or its full purpose.

The history of the ascent of man to his GOD we have already touched upon, and own our indebtedness therefor to the scholarly author of the *Fundamental Institutions of the Religion of the Semites*.

The history of the never-quenched Light shining in the darkness manward from GOD is given us in a satisfactory work by Mr. C. Loring Brace.

Sacrifice and union had to be traced through the customs of man.

Enlightenment from above can only be traced through the operations of man's intellect.

Mr. Brace entitles his volume, therefore, *The Unknown God; or, Inspiration among Pre-Christian Races*. The result is the same whether we look upon the intellectual approaches of man to a knowledge of GOD as due to the inspiration of the HOLY GHOST, who never left Himself without a witness among men, or whether we look upon them as due to the SON, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Illumination and inspiration are almost controvertible terms, and the Catholic Christian recognizes both as operations, nor seeks to define too curiously where the Divine prerogative of the SON or the HOLY GHOST commences or ceases.

The history of this revelation of GOD to man is traced first

through the Egyptian hymns and liturgies, through the connection between the Jews and the Egyptians, and through those marvellous and little-known Akkadian prayers, some of which might be chanted by the most orthodox of Churchmen. Here are a few specimens, needing less alteration than most of our hymns have been subjected to.

God, my Creator, stand by my side!
Keep thou the door of my lips, guard thou my hands, O Lord of Light.

O Lord of battles !
Merciful One amongst the gods !
Generator who bringest back the dead to life !
Beneficent King of heaven and earth !
To thee is the life of life,
To thee belong death and life !

The whole of the four regions of the world,
The archangels of the legions of heaven and earth, how many soever,—
These are thine.
Thou art the Life-giver !
Thou art the Saviour !
The Merciful One among the gods !
Cure thou this plague !

The Greek mystery plays, undoubtedly derived from the East, kept alive belief in the existence of one Supreme GOD, a judgment, and the immortality of the soul. Some of the Orphic hymns bear striking testimony to this fact. The quotations which Mr. Brace gives from Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and lesser men, such as Hesiod, Archilochus, Æschines, Pindar, Menander, etc., are really very striking. They show how near these commanding intellects came to perceiving the unity of GOD, though it must be remembered that such writers were undoubtedly familiar with the hymns used by the priests, and which amid many corruptions still preserved the truth of one Spiritual Arbiter over the actions of the lesser half-human, half-divine gods. The carnalizing of this Supreme Spiritual Deity by the Romans is well shown. The Latin race seem ever to unite with the Deity by bringing Him down to their level rather than raising man to GOD. We doubt whether among any other race of the world's history would such an inscription as this on a priest's grave —

*Basia, voluptates, jocum alumnis suis dedit*¹ —

¹ He gave to his disciples kisses, pleasures, and fun.

have been engraved on the tomb of a servant of GOD. The approach of Socrates and Plato to the true GOD is marvelous as the result of the efforts of pure reasoning. It is but bare justice to these thinkers to say that they were nearer to GOD and had a purer conception of Him than the agnostic phrase-makers of to-day. In Cleanthes, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius, we have perhaps the clearest exposition of the faith of the Stoics. Mr. Brace accurately defines what should be our attitude to the great pre-Christian thinkers: —

The Christian can only regard these souls with reverence, because they rose so much above human meanness and were so steadfast with so little light to guide them [p. 164].

His criticism on the teachings of Socrates and Plato is as acute as it is just.

The God of Socrates and Plato was too cold and stern to be the God of the multitude; and their morals lacked the highest elements, — even unselfish love and childlike purity [p. 180].

The revelation of GOD through Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, is carefully traced, and the different characteristics of each accurately pointed out.

Having thus traced the dealings of GOD with man, and endeavored to show how the Divine Pharos ever shone on the path of man, it is but natural that Mr. Brace should conclude with a chapter as to the conversion of the present non-Christian races. The conclusion reached is the same all thinking men have long since reached, — that nothing can be done effectually by a divided Christendom.

In the volume by Mr. Bacon we have the elucidation of the theory that all that is true in any religious system is so as a remnant of the Divine beginning, and that all that is false is so by perversion from the Divine Revelation. Man refracted and distorted the rays of Divine Truth. That we are of the same opinion the readers of this article will have perceived. While Dr. Robertson Smith traces the fundamental institutions of religion; while Mr. Brace traces the rays of GOD'S revelation to man, — Mr. Bacon traces the beginnings of religion on the hypothesis that the Hebrew traditions are true. We thus have three independent lines of inquiry with different motives actuating each. The result in each case is a vindication of the love of GOD to man and of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.

We regret that we have left ourselves so little space to comment in detail upon *The Beginnings of Religion*. Painstaking, sincere, bold in defence, honest of purpose, Mr. Bacon deserves a wider recognition for his work than it has yet received.

Passing by the frothy, unsubstantial work by the Bishop of Ripon, we commend to the earnest student the three other works, as invaluable helps to a clearer comprehension of the eternal wisdom "which reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly doth she order all things."

We conclude with a saying from *The Beginnings of Religion* which may well serve as a motto for this article and similar investigations: —

To see GOD in everything is highest wisdom, as to see Him in nothing is the worst unreason.

SIGNATUS.

Origin and Significance of the Eastward Position.

WHILE the legality of the "eastward position" and its history in the practice of the Church is awaking renewed attention, the agitation of the subject suggests some research into that from which it originated, although such origin is rarely referred to.

The present article is not intended to enter upon what is known as "Orientation" in worship, conducted in the Christian Church, and which is not so specially sustained by the most ancient precedent and Divine authority as is the "eastward position" in its broadest sense, considered simply as that of the worshipper. All argument regarding similar practice in pagan worship needs but an allusion, and then only as being the counterfeit of what was ever true.

Every rite, practice, or custom appertaining to the worship of Almighty GOD, to be tolerated or respected, must be capable of such demonstration as shall prove it to have had Divine origin, Divine command, or Divine approval, and will be best sustained if clearly possessing all these essentials of authority.

Any one of these may have received sanction from a remote period and yet be wanting in final support, proving to have nothing more than human device or superstition for its warrant. Custom may have so long repeated these practices and rites as to obtain for them approval for no more substantial reason, and that, upon the part of many, without a challenge as to their propriety or derivation. Others again may be willing to believe them as beyond question, without tracing satisfactory precedent back to a Divine and Sovereign source; while others still will not rest short of that complete investigation which ends in proof.

The revelation of GOD, though not fully comprehensible by human intellect, appeals to every faculty and to all the faculties combined by which man was endowed; and some of these transcend mere intellect and reason. Faith, which makes unseen

things evident, is a faculty as well as an endowment, and never was spontaneous in human consciousness; and spiritual capacities and capabilities supplement with subtle influences varied susceptibilities of the mind and soul in the exercise of power.

Contemplation and the power of meditation intently engage every faculty of man in the pursuit of spiritual truth, after a method higher than mere intellectual force, and by processes peculiar to such seekers after truth, and adapt them by like processes to the still higher influences of supernatural grace.

Insight into Divine mysteries is vouchsafed under promise to those who would "know of the doctrine;" hence there are undefinable possibilities attainable, which language may fail fully to express, but which exist and are perceptible to the subtler faculties through no ordinary discernment.

In the services of the Church as known at the present day, through a disregard of these principles, what are deemed intrusions and omissions awaken continuous question, and to fairly judge them particular investigation is demanded.

Perhaps no one practice in the services of the Church has given rise to more controversy and misunderstanding, or excited more bitter prejudice, than the "eastward position." In part this may be excusable in such as have not been reared in a liturgical worship, but in others it has been due to complete ignorance of its origin and meaning.

In the study of the Holy Scriptures, we find that when a fact is to be conclusively proven,—for instance, the genealogy of our LORD JESUS CHRIST,—it is traced back, step by step, to the "Beginning;" and no safer rule can be applied to the treatment of the present subject. To strip it of that mass of human testimony which might alone be brought to bear upon it, a prompt resort to its origin may prove the most instructive and convincing.

One of two things must be proved,—either that its authority will fade away in traversing its history, or that in all time it has had an actual and proper relation to what preceded it, back to Divine institution and command.

If there be an "eastward position," there must have been an East; and the queries naturally arise, Who originated the East? When did it first possess a meaning? What was the first "eastward position"?

The earliest Scriptures to which we may refer for revelation and record are written in the ancient Hebrew language, and con-

tain the only connected history of man, naming our progenitors and connecting the entire family of man from the day of Adam over the extermination of the race generally, and through eight survivors in the Ark down, with a genealogy which remains indisputable and secure from reasonable contradiction.

We are then justified in giving the language in which it was first used the benefit of that interpretation which is demanded by the meaning directly conveyed to those who most fully understood it.

"East," to the Hebrew mind, expressed, "before one's face," "in front of." Its first mention is in Gen. ii. 8: "And the LORD GOD planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there He put the man whom he had formed." The devout reader in his mind enlarges upon the text itself, expanding the statement into his own words to gain an explicit understanding of its full meaning. Put into paraphrase, it might read: "The LORD GOD, sovereign in His creative power, had completed the new earth, also its creatures, and at last man,—the most exalted of all and in His own image,—and made him the possessor and guardian of all. He saw fit to set aside a particular and beautiful spot for man's special abode, and that to be called a 'garden,' located eastward, or 'before the face of the LORD GOD,' in Eden, or the earth."

This arbitrary fixing of a cardinal point, we infer, must possess a potential and generic meaning,—"before the face," as the Hebrew word indicates, though now it is generally meant to denote in common language only a direction in the physical world, and determined by a human device, called the mariner's compass, operating through an undeviating "natural law." For the present purpose we must confine attention to the significance of the word "eastward" in its original application and use, which was, "before the face." The application of the word "East" to some of the countries mentioned in the Scripture illustrates the similar meaning, "in front of."

It will, however, seem clear that the location of the "Garden" of Eden was literally "before the face," and everything mentioned thereafter as pertaining to worship, or the ordained instrumentalities of worship, meant "before the face" and "in front of," and at the same time universally corresponded with the more recent geographic East, as now understood, so that North, South, and West, when mentioned as relating to earthly worship, as revealed and ordained of GOD, were likewise un-

varyingly fixed. The fact of a first sacrifice intimately associated with the "East" cannot be disputed; yet that very first act of sacrificial offering is not specially stated or described, but is so inferentially settled to have taken place that it needs no specific proof, inasmuch as subsequent sacrifices are proven, as to time when they were offered and as to the individuals who offered them, and both are clearly named.

The Sacrifice was not only provided for by special creatures, perpetuated by a Divine providence, but was repeatedly directed to be offered by special command of GOD, and directly approved of through supernatural manifestations and direct consummation. After its first mention as having been offered, it was never thereafter completely unknown to man as an indispensable feature of worship; and so strongly was its nature impressed on mankind generally that it was largely counterfeited in pagan rites. The Sacrifice always had internal evidence of its Divine origin and approval, and of its acceptance as such by men in all ages being always effectual and efficacious, and so portrayed every element which reason could demand.

It is no more remarkable that the specific first Sacrifice is not recorded than that many other things known to have been produced at the "beginning" are not enumerated. When man was formed out of the earth and made in the image of GOD, all of his endowments were not mentioned, though we have equal reason to believe that they were coincident with all that we find stated to have been bestowed. The power of articulate speech was undoubtedly a positive endowment of his CREATOR at the instant of the first spark of life, but that it was so we have no actual record. And yet the narrative goes on to instance his exercise of speech; for Adam, while he was yet alone, called the beasts by name, voiced his communion with GOD, and every descendant now bears testimony to the original gift of speech, in the fact of the possession of the organs of speech. Various faculties and perceptions were doubtless of original endowment, which are equally proven only by their exercise in later development, which has called them into action by opportunity and by necessity as well as by desire, or through the ingrafted sense of privilege, duty, and obligation.

By this and by additional reasoning it would seem plain that a higher and more exalted aspiration constituted a part of man's nature, though at times suppressed, — that of supreme respect

and veneration for the majesty of his CREATOR. Of such reverence he had partaken; for his own eyes had seen the glory of GOD, to whom he had ascribed praise and adoration, with angelic associates, ere Sin had invaded the Paradise of Eden. His own ears had heard the acclamations of the "sons of GOD," as they shouted for joy at the finished creation. Sin itself never so depraved him as to eradicate forever and irreclaimably from his inmost longing some desire and inclination to return to GOD and to the state of his original innocence; and the only progress toward that restoration was by and through the Sacrifice, and through the Divine system which was to be developed from it, always maintaining in progressive enlargement every essential element, together with the original symbol, as its essence. It remains now to set forth how all this was manifestly brought out step by step from the beginning, in the special phase of the great subject of revelation which the "eastward position" suggests.

To every devout mind the proposition that GOD is and ever was sovereign, is plain. What He chose to establish dominated all things. So the LORD GOD, as CREATOR, chose, after calling matter into form, to call that form Earth. This spherical mass of matter was the great aggregate of atoms held together by special laws, established by infinite wisdom, and having extended relations with the whole physical universe, and, as well, with intelligences created with spiritual capacities, and to dwell upon it. And these were to be forever introducing supernatural relations to be retained, preserved, and carried along with the whole race of those intelligences placed upon the earth, which was to dwell there under conditions, restraints, and privileges derived from spiritual as well as natural laws, and these to blend into both the natural and spiritual nature of individual Adam, and in generations to spring from him successively.

So it pleased the Sovereign CREATOR to select in the new earth, or Eden, a special place where, for reasons beyond human ken, He planted a garden, eastward, or "before His face," in which He placed man, whom He had created.

It must have possessed special features, peculiar advantages in its situation and location. Its situation "before the face" of the LORD GOD was certainly of special advantage, and this more suitable and desirable than any other part of Eden.

Whatever else this paradise contained, it certainly had "the

presence" of the LORD GOD as its "midst," manifested to the senses of man, and originally in a manner and to an extent which is now not experienced, and to which other Divine means inclusively have been made known specially, to restore man back from his fallen state.

In epitome, we have the spotless creation, man in a blissful paradise, the catastrophe of the Fall, and the immediate interposition of a promised Redeemer.

Then follows at once that inscrutable instrument, the Sacrifice, while its developed meaning is the lesson to be learned by each, while probation is prolonged.

To return to the Garden.

From what is understood in human language there is conveyed to the mind by its mention some favored, enclosed, or separated place, adjoining or surrounding a particular residence or house. We may therefore conceive of this Garden of Eden as some manor similarly enclosed, so surrounded; and that it did possess, in consequence, that which even then constituted a special location for the innocent household of man, with attractions of natural beauty, with its supernal vistas and landscape, together with the glorious "Presence," and Cherubim and angel.

How long this peaceful abode remained undisturbed we are not informed; but a fatal day came of sin and rebellion, followed by consequences of which everywhere there now appear evidences.

"Therefore the LORD GOD sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken. . . .

"And He placed at the east of the Garden of Eden Cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the Tree of Life."

In other words, GOD having driven man from the Garden,— "from before His face," — and hence eastward, He placed at that point of their departure, "at the east of the Garden of Eden, Cherubim and a flaming sword, to keep [or defend] the way to the Tree of Life."

This "way" was the path which led to the "midst"¹ of the Garden, and to the presence of GOD, which they had now forfeited, and to which they must not return, as they were wont before their sin. The longing of every troubled soul now, and

¹ Rev. ii. 7.

the longing known of mankind in all ages, at least in extremity, to secure the favor of GOD, must take us back to the very first of living souls as partaking of that very desire; and no doubt Adam and Eve in person sought some method of return by which to receive again acceptance with GOD. That they did so is believed, but not actually stated; but their children did each possess a recorded acceptable means of obtaining GOD's favor, and that was by an offering,—a Sacrifice,—and undoubtedly they had learned all that from their father and mother, Adam and Eve. These sons in the process of time brought their "offerings" to the LORD, and yet all this time the "way" of approach was barred by the Cherubim and the flaming sword. They with their parents were still living in the East, as related to the Garden, and as related to the Cherubim, and to the "way," and to the "midst," where the Tree of Life was placed, and where the "Presence" of the LORD GOD was. We must, then, in some way explain how they could bring anything to GOD. They could not except by means appointed,—by an act, and that an acceptable one. That act was the sacrifice of burnt offering, of the first of the flock. From the East they came, approaching as near to the Divine Presence as they were permitted (the Cherubim interposing), and pausing there, in the East, in the "eastward position," they sacrificed; and their offering was accepted, for it was "before the face" of the LORD GOD in the East.

There was, then, originally a special garden. Of its location we are not certain, but of its situation we have the fact that it was "eastward," before the face of the Sovereign CREATOR; and that position was forever to continue to be the East. Not only was it East in the sense understood in the Hebrew language, but it was to fix forever the relation of the worshipper to the Divine object of worship; and we shall now search for the later evidences that this continued to be the case, and to be in harmony not only with the East as a point of compass, as now understood, but was so from the fact that West, North, and South were points strictly observed in those Divinely ordained instrumentalities of earthly worship,—the Tabernacle and the Temple.

A most distinct proof of voluntary observance of the special "eastward position" in worship is that of Abraham. "And he removed from thence unto a mountain on the 'East' of Bethel, and pitched his tent, having Bethel on the West and Hai on the

'East ;' and there he builded an altar unto the LORD, and called upon the name of the LORD."¹

Abraham had removed from the place where the LORD appeared unto him, and gave him the promise of that land. In deference to that appearance of GOD, and of Bethel, that house of GOD, actual, but of which we have no specific further knowledge, he, eastward of it, and in the "eastward position," worshipped, sacrificing upon a new altar there erected. This Abraham—and who more fitly?—journeyed afterward to Mount Moriah, and laid his only son upon an altar erected upon the very spot shown him by JEHOVAH, which eight hundred years later became the central spot of the Holy of Holies in the Temple, with its East and West and North and South defined by corridor and court and candlestick and ark and cherubim, as will be more fully delineated.

What may have been the particular methods of sacrifice down to the time of the deluge we have nothing stated; but that such an observance of worship as the Sacrifice was handed down by the patriarchs, almost all contemporaneous, seems beyond doubt, from the fact that creatures for its observance were specially spared with the family of man in the Ark, and the first act of man upon his return after the Deluge was the erection of an altar and the resumption of the Sacrifice. From that time on it was continued, till in due process of time the "chosen people" had become a nation, and while in captivity the descendants of Abraham sacrificed unto their GOD.

It may be helpful if we return to the scenes of the Garden of Eden, and consider not only what existed there, but what is suggested by it.

After the "Fall" there was one symbol, or Tree of Life, in the "midst," where the LORD GOD dwelt and spoke and acted, that was to be made inaccessible. This was THE MOST HOLY PLACE. There was the Divine Presence, once to sinless man approachable. His "Presence" was their joy, their privilege, and delight. Without restriction in their sinlessness they could and did eat of the Tree of Life; and lest they should eat of it after transgression, and live forever in unrequited sin, was the infinitely merciful interposition which was ordained for the sake of man. From this Holy "Presence," and "Most Holy Place" man was expelled. Beyond this Most Holy Place, and east-

¹ Gen. xii. 8.

ward "from before the face of the LORD GOD," was next a "Holy Place," where the Cherubim were placed as guardians, to guard the "way" (or direct approach) to the Tree of Life. Beyond this, and still eastward, was a "position" where man still dwelt, and in which alone he could now worship. This worship was expressed at first in a silent offering brought to GOD, as near as they dared to approach that forbidden "midst" where the LORD dwelt. The generic idea of formulated worship is indicated here, and in this order: —

1. A Most Holy Place, — the "midst."
2. A Holy Place, — of Cherubim.
3. An "East" (in front of both), — the place of the worshipper offering his sacrifice.

This idea prevailed, as far as we know, all through the patriarchal life, and as far as the use of the Altar and the Sacrifice, that was, we have found, familiar to Noah, and perpetuated by him.

After the Deluge, all localities and situations having been obliterated, it remained for Noah, in erecting anew his first altar, and offering anew his first sacrifice upon the restored earth, to re-locate, as it were, some place where the LORD GOD would appear, and again manifest Himself to man, by "Presence," by supernatural acts, and by voice of approval.

This all took place in the six hundred and first year of Noah's life. "And Noah builded an altar unto the LORD, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar."

The clean beasts and the clean birds had been alone preserved by "sevens" in order to supply the flesh for burnt offerings. This is the first mention of burnt offerings, but the provision made specially for them implies their habitual use at all times prior to that. Upon an earth restored from total submersion, what but miraculous fire could have consumed the offerings, and it probably did, as it probably did the first Sacrifice ever offered, and we shall find this stated to have been done at later periods.

This Sacrifice of Noah received Divine recognition, and a covenant. This act re-establishes the place where the LORD GOD would meet man as having been the altar, and was so to continue to be.

From the antediluvian world the Cherubim had departed, to reappear as symbolic form in a new order of worship to be

revealed, and yet to maintain every characteristic of the very "beginning," while taking a new adaptation.

While Enoch is mentioned under the patriarchal dispensation to have attained the highest degree of righteousness known, and that by means embraced in the essence of the Sacrifice, it is to Abraham that is given the special character of exalted faith. He erects altars, offers sacrifices, and by special observances already alluded to, grasps the original conception of true worship, and is obedient to all that pertains to it. To him and his seed, as a chosen people, was appointed that they should exemplify the pure mind and will of JEHOVAH. All through the hundreds of years of captivity the Israelites were perpetuating the Sacrifice, awaiting the fuller revelation which came to Moses.

This was the lesson so impressively taught him on Mount Sinai, where he was shown "patterns" which he was to minutely follow.

A careful reading of the Scriptures containing this revelation, even in its repetitions of detail, will clearly show that while a good deal was added to the worship as indicated in the Garden of Eden, everything represented at first was carefully included in the latter.

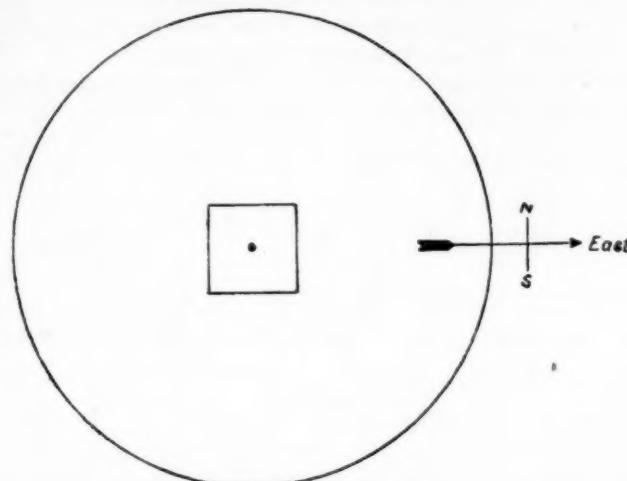
The whole idea of the Tabernacle was an atonement, and upon this was founded and added a Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving. The sacred Tabernacle proper had its every "board" deeply implanted literally in the atonement silver, as a foundation.

The House itself was divided into a "Most Holy Place," in which the Ark of the Covenant and the Shechinah dwelt, and a "Holy Place," in which incense was offered, with its Table of Shewbread and Candlestick. Beyond, and "eastward," was the Altar of Burnt Offering, and further added, the Court of the Priests. All Israel must approach the Altar from the East, in bringing sacrifices, and in so doing face Westward, toward the Most Holy Place, turning their backs upon the worshippers still behind, and to the East of them. So in all the worship of the children of Israel for some five hundred years, till the Temple was built, the "Eastward Position" was invariably observed, and never disregarded.

If we review the subject and sketch the suggested plan of original worship we find, first, a Divine centre and "midst,"

the LORD GOD central, with the Tree of Life, in the "Garden of Eden," as it was enclosed, and with a "path" or "way" thereto from the East.

After man's expulsion we have represented as placed to the East of the "midst" and upon this "way" Cherubim to guard it,—that is, on either side. This conveys to the mind a suggestion of an added "Holy Place," as thus,—



The Garden of Eden. Its "Midst."

and after Adam and Eve were finally beyond the limits of the Garden, eastward, we may conceive of them as approaching as near as permitted to the "midst," where the LORD GOD dwelt, to worship by the Sacrifice; and here we have the full embryonic idea of the coming system of earthly worship, thus,—



The Garden, after transgression.

The Cherubim, in The Holy Place. The Way.

The Sacrifice. The Eastward Position.

and all this Divinely arranged.

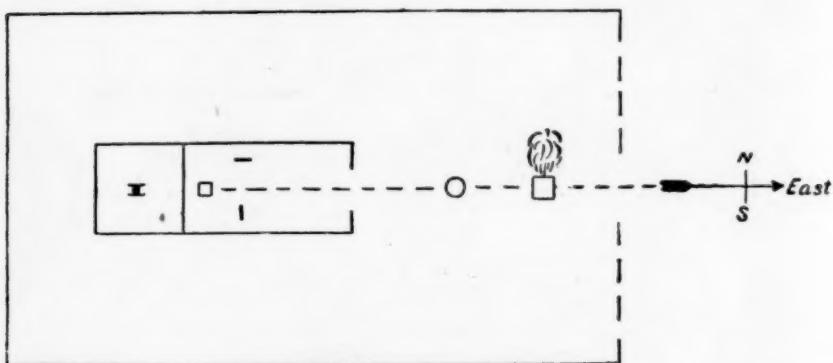
We now confine ourselves to the revelation made to Moses, and find that a definite "ground plan," measured by cubits, was

distinctly given him, with the strict command to "do all according to the pattern I showed thee in the Mount."

The Tabernacle was to be thirty cubits long, divided into a Most Holy Place and a Holy Place, the Most Holy Place to be ten cubits cube and the Holy Place thirty cubits long and ten cubits wide and high, or in modern measurements $15 \times 15 \times 15$ feet and $15 \times 15 \times 30$ feet, — in all, forty-five feet.

A court for priests surrounded it, and on a line directly down from the "midst," or Holy of Holies, was to be placed a brass altar of burnt offering of prescribed dimensions.

We have, then, in this Divine arrangement every counterpart of the original design in the Garden of Eden, thus, —



Ground plan of The Tabernacle. Retaining The Most Holy Place.

Its Sacred "Midst," — The Ark of The Covenant.

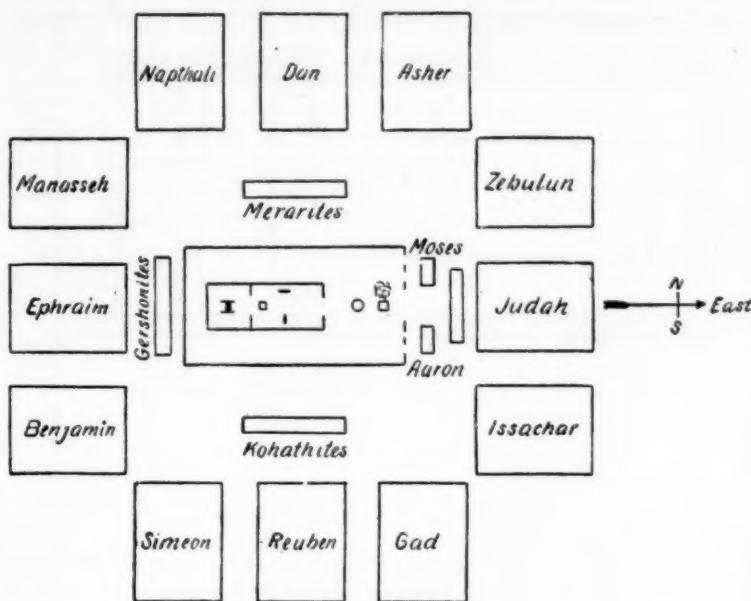
The Holy Place. Altar of Incense. Table of Shew Bread and Candlestick.

The Court. Laver. Altar of Burnt Offering.

Only entrance, East.

and further surrounded by a court, for a priesthood had been added to the revealed purpose of GOD and provided for. There was no "way" to offer sacrifice except from the gateway at the East end of the court, — the way of Sacrifice. Even here the offerer must bow beneath the raised curtains hanging on a bar of symbolic atonement silver, and humbly present it.

That we may further see how carefully guarded was everything, in order that "as it was in the beginning" should then be continued to be perpetuated throughout all time, we will allude to the commands regarding the encampment of the Israelites

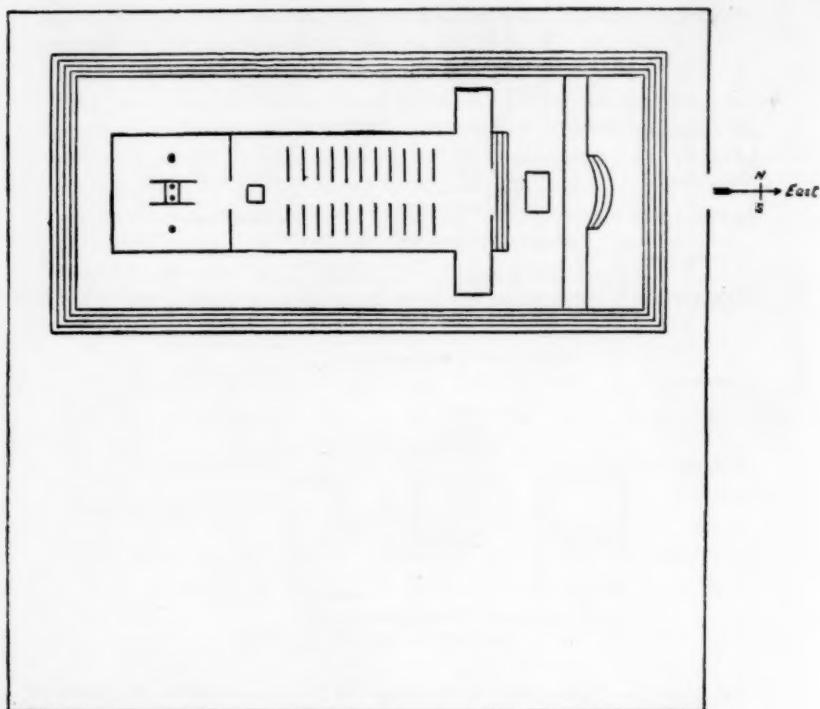


The Encampment. The Tabernacle, central.
"The Midst," as in "The Beginning."

during the journey of forty years in the Wilderness, as found in the first four chapters of the Book of Numbers.

Our diagram again shows in its centre the exact reproduction of the Garden of Eden, but now within the Tabernacle's enclosure, and the whole surrounded by the encampment of Israel's twelve tribes, with the sacred "midst" and the light of the Shechinah in the centre of all. The Angel of the LORD was visible in the pillar of cloud and fire directly over it. Every point of the compass is here mentioned, the East definitely fixed. And so the whole encampment moved forward, with its unvarying East always fixed, and its order of worship always conformable therewith. To all this there was never an exception.

The culminating grandeur of earthly worship is found in the Temple, which exceeded the Tabernacle. Built of costly stones and of gold and silver, it still contained, with added glory of man's devotion and contributions, every feature of that which had preceded it. It all had location upon Moriah's summit, the



Solomon's Temple, partial outline, showing the same *relative* arrangement with added courts, two great Cherubim, ten golden candlesticks, ten Tables of Shew Bread.

scene of Abraham's sacrifice; and on that spot, as central, was placed the centre of the Most Holy Place.

Our diagram is now enlarged by added court and terrace upon terrace, but there is all that Eden's Garden suggested, all that was revealed to Moses on Mount Moriah, and was further revealed to King David and transmitted to Solomon.

It will be seen that we have in the Temple, inclusively, every provision which had been revealed and ordained especially for earthly worship. Already, from the first act in Eden's garden down to the building of the Temple, every original suggestion, even, applied itself to all that followed in the enlarged revelation to man.

The services of the first high-priest Aaron, in the Tabernacle,

continued successively in those who filled that great office down to the time of CHRIST. For the high-priest individually, a prescribed ritual direct from JEHOVAH set forth in detail his duty ; and penalties of the severest kind were attached to every neglect or omission. All who brought sacrifices presented them in the eastward position, and Aaron, as high-priest, both worshipped in the attitude of an individual and in that of high-priest in the same undeviating form. Every offering was brought invariably "before the LORD." The scapegoat, before he was sent away with the sins of the people, was first brought "before the LORD" in the Tabernacle. The blood of the sin offering was sprinkled upon the eastward line of the Mercy Seat,—or, in other words, by the high-priest in the "eastward position,"—facing the awful and visible presence of GOD, and bowed before it, with the cloud of incense veiling it from his eyes. It would not do for the high-priest to deviate and take any other position.

Everywhere, from the very beginning, the one unalterable law of significance and propriety controlled and directed. As further proof, the offering of the incense was always in the "eastward position," and before the Holy Midst, however separated by the Vail, and the attitude of high-priest and priest alike was always in the same unvarying literal "position."

Every sacrifice was brought literally and anciently in person by the offerer, and whatever other requirement was exacted, it at last was placed so as to face the West, and thus be actually "before the LORD." The person confessing his sin always stood in the "eastward position," facing the West, while his hands were laid on the Sacrifice when offering it.

That most remarkable and mysterious "Sacrifice," of the red heifer, was, when offered on the Mount of Olives, described as placed facing westward toward the Most Holy Place, or "midst" in the Temple, and the officiating priest to the eastward behind it, both alike in the same "eastward position," and in an undeviating line from the Most Holy Midst.

At the dedication of the Temple, the Ark of the Covenant, borne in royal procession across the Tyrolean Bridge, eastward from the City of David, or Mount Zion, was carried round eastward to the Gate Beautiful, and borne through the Court of the Women, up the step of degrees, through the Court of the Priests, maintaining the "eastward position," until it was deposited upon the centre of the golden floor of the Holy of Holies. It

then became the "midst," toward which, ever afterward, every worshipper should face, for "the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests, sounding with trumpets.

"It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the **LORD**, and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of musick, and praised the **LORD**, saying, For He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever; that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the **LORD**; so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud; for the glory of the **LORD** had filled the house of **GOD**."¹

King Solomon continued the further dedicatory services himself upon a scaffold, or platform of brass, made of the exact dimensions of the original brass Altar of Burnt Offering, and stood first in the "eastward position," before the great altar, and the Holy House was filled with the visible Presence of **GOD** (turning but once to the people, and that in pronouncing the benediction). His worship, his sacrifice, the spreading forth of his hands toward heaven, was all in the prescribed attitude before the **LORD**.

At the close of that remarkable prayer "he arose from before the altar of the **LORD**, from kneeling upon his knees, with his hands spread up toward heaven.

"Now, when Solomon had made an end of praying, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offerings and the sacrifices.

"And when all the children of Israel saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the **LORD** upon the house, they bowed themselves, with their faces upon the pavement, and worshipped and praised the **LORD** saying, For He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever."

And this they saw, being in the "eastward position," "before the" altar and "in front of" the Holy Presence, and the Shechinah then glowing in the Holy of Holies.

The priest, and the people, worshipped with their faces alike

¹ 2 Chron. v. 12-14.

toward the Presence of the LORD GOD, which was the secluded inner sanctuary, the Holy of Holies. This was by Divine arrangement, and it was only at the close of the morning and evening service of Sacrifice and oblation that Aaron as high-priest and afterward the priests who had officiated, turned to the people, and pronounced the Great Benediction in words directly given by the voice of JEHOVAH to Aaron: "The LORD bless thee, and keep thee; the LORD make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the LORD lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."¹ We have then, down through all the old dispensation, the one undeviating attitude of worship, and all this was conformed to in the synagogue worship, as far as the arrangements of that worship permitted, the buildings themselves being arranged after the type of the Tabernacle and Temple. In the Church from the earliest days, a similarity of arrangement followed on, instinctively as well as purposely, so that in all Church buildings is plainly visible a type of all that was generally apparent in the Temple itself. The modern chancel, with its altar, retains the sanctuary, and represents the Most Holy Place,—the rent vail removed,—and the people, "eastward," facing it as worshippers, led therein by the priest ordained to his office, and fulfilling it with the people in one oblation. The preaching of the Gospel places the priest in the attitude of the ancient reader of the law, standing before the people as a teacher, and hence in that portion of the service facing them. In all the other portions of the service, he with the people properly occupying the "eastward position," faces the Altar in a universal sacrifice of prayer and praise. This manner, which has obtained, more or less marked, in the Universal Church in all the world since the days of CHRIST, is historic and more or less distinct. The fact of original observance, its significance, and its Divine source, are left for thoughtful consideration. All that is revealed in the New Testament Scriptures confirms that which is found in the old. The imagery of the Revelation of S. John the Divine, fully accords with what had, in all the ages past, dominated public worship. The Altar, "the LAMB," slain from the foundation of the world, the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Covenant, the Incense, the worship always "before" the Throne, the prostrate worshippers, follow in the same order of reverent observance. The same "midst," "the

¹ Num. vi. 24-26.

Tree of Life," and the "river" of life, surround the Presence of the Infinite One. The Holy Jerusalem lying four square, with its East, West, North, and South, descends from heaven.

At last, Temple and Symbols and Sacrifices are done away with in the marvellous transformation revealed. A new heaven and a new earth are seen. A great voice out of heaven is heard, saying, "Behold, the tabernacle of GOD is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people; and GOD Himself shall be with them, and be their GOD."

S. John proceeds to say: "And I saw no temple therein; for the LORD GOD ALMIGHTY and the LAMB are the temple of it." The "midst" is again visible in the street of the Holy City,—the enlarged special "garden" of man's eternal dwelling-place; and we are brought back to the actual primeval state of man's transcendent felicity,—the actual Presence of GOD.

"And they shall see His face,"—being ever "before" it. The whole Revelation of S. John reproduces the symbols and instrumentalities used in aiding man to rise to the true ideal of a reverent worship, and then leads back the mind to the one transcendent and superior exaltation which man had, in the dawn of his creation, when, obedient, filial, and innocent, he enjoyed the real Presence of his GOD, in the "midst" of the Garden and the company of angel and cherubim. The innumerable company which no man can number is described as engaged in that eternal adoration. S. John describes no worship not founded upon the Divine and original ideal. The sacrifice—the LAMB slain from the foundation of the world—is the centre and sum of all.

CARLOS A. BUTLER.

Why Prayers for the Dead?

MAN is constituted of a body and a spirit, united by the life or soul. Death destroys this life, and there remains a disembodied spirit and a corruptible body. This body returns to dust, and the spirit returns to GOD; but under what conditions it lives apart from the body, we know not. When Holy Scripture says, "The dead cannot hope for Thy truth," "The dead praise not the LORD, neither all they that go down into silence," "The dead know not anything," we understand that it speaks of men, not of their disembodied spirits. At the resurrection, when the grave gives up the body, man reappears and is judged as a man, according to the works done in the body. The next event to the complete man, after his death, is the resurrection.

Man lives in the world by the things about him. In all these is the life of his spirit, hence by his use of these things he is judged. Here he is to "put off the old" and to "put on the new man;" for when the spirit departs, man is dead. Until the body be restored and the spirit return to it, he is not truly man; his duties and his privileges as a man cease, for a part cannot be the whole. Yet we speak of man in the body and of man in the spirit. We may not be able, at times, to tell whether he is in the one or the other; but we know that he is not in both at the same time, save as he is one and a complete man.¹ This completeness in the present life is essential to the performance of human duties and to the enjoyment of human privileges. The condition of man in the body is quite different from his condition in the spirit. In the body, frail, uncertain, perplexed, and opposed, he ought always to pray; but when his spirit is out of the body and present with the LORD, he is in peace. Why should we pray for the dead, since prayer arises from man's necessities and trials? Although GOD knows all, rules all without variableness, and cannot be instructed, we are taught that

¹ S. Paul [2 Cor. xii. 3, 5] regards a being in such a state as a different being from himself, and draws a contrast.

men ought always to pray, and prayers for all men are enjoined. Men pray, spirits pray; but do men pray for spirits? It is not taught in Holy Scripture, nor are the conditions under which the spirits of men exist separate from their bodies revealed. "The spirit returns to GOD." "Man dieth and wasteth away; yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?" It is unreasonable for man to pray without light, promise, command, or encouragement. Those who are dead had the Gospel preached to them, that they might obey it as men; that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to GOD in the spirit.

Our LORD'S method is perfect. He became man to save men. His spirit welcomed the spirit of the penitent in paradise, when their bodies were on earth. The men were dead. The Christian's spirit, absent from the body, is present with the LORD, — a condition so perfect that S. Paul would fain have chosen it. Christ carries on His work for men upon earth, and through human agencies. Questions concerning man's condition after death and before the resurrection are as perplexing as questions concerning his condition before birth. In replying to the latter, our LORD describes human duty to be like a day's work; it must be done before the night comes, in which no man can work. He settled the matter by confining the mind to present duties in the body. At another time He said, "This is the work of GOD, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent." They who have done this work, who have manifested this belief in their mortal bodies, enter into rest. The next event to death in which the complete man appears is the resurrection. All in the grave shall come forth, they that have done good and they that have done evil; yet there is a special gathering of the elect spirits by angels, from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. These, like the wise virgins, are ready; they have been with CHRIST. Those whose preparation is incomplete are the foolish, who cannot stand in GOD'S sight.

It is claimed that a great work of purification must be done in paradise to fit men for heaven. If so, it is done by purely spiritual means. Man cannot do it nor understand its methods. The SPIRIT then works with the spirits of men under conditions neither earthly nor human. The work of grace is not limited by death, but man's agency is so limited. He cannot redeem his brother, but must let that alone. The life in the body is

clearly the time of probation. Faith in CHRIST is the means of obtaining the one SPIRIT by whom we have access unto the FATHER.

We may not know the full power of prayer; but we are taught its province. Supplications, prayers, intercessions, are to be made for men, not for spirits. CHRIST JESUS is Mediator between GOD and man. He took not the nature of angels, whom He made spirits. The spirits of departed Christians are with Him, in a more perfect union than men can know until the resurrection. We are *now* to walk in newness of life; for this we were baptized into CHRIST's death, that the body of sin might be destroyed, for he that is dead is freed from sin. By faith in CHRIST we are to reckon ourselves as dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto GOD. The spirits of the righteous are with Him, over whom death hath no more dominion. If we oppose and mortify sin in our mortal bodies, where it lurks and has advantage, then, when we put off these bodies, we wholly live in Him who is our Life. How shall we pray for those in this condition? Can they want more purification than the penitent thief and Mary Magdalene, whom our LORD received to intimacy and immediate honor? We may give GOD thanks, and praise Him for the good examples of His saints, and for our union with them in CHRIST. We understand not this spiritual union, but we are taught it and believe it. Spirit is more intimate with spirit than body can be, or than man can be in this mortal life. Prayers for the dead disregard the dissolution of man.¹ When the Christian's spirit goes forth from his body, which is a temple of the HOLY GHOST, does it go without the HOLY GHOST? Is it not infolded in living fire? The souls of the righteous are in the hand of GOD, and evil may not touch them. Is it not presumptuous, as well as doubting, to pray for them? Can we hope after death to lay again the foundation of repentance and of faith and of doctrine? Do we not leave the word of the beginning of CHRIST and go on to perfection?

It is natural enough to pray for the dead; but Christians, though first natural, are to be led by the SPIRIT, to walk in the SPIRIT, to be spiritual. This is the way of rest and peace, of strength and joy. To limit faith by sense is to abide in the flesh, and not to please GOD.

¹ The Prayer-Book regards this dissolution. We commit the body to the ground, and declare the spirit to be with God in joy and felicity.

The practice of praying for the dead is older than Christianity, as old as that natural ignorance and timidity concerning death, from which the Gospel is intended to deliver us. Heathen and Jews prayed for the dead, and in the infancy of Christianity, those who were under heathen and Jewish influences. First is that which is natural, afterward that which is spiritual. S. Augustine, whose great powers were developed and matured in heathen philosophy, was disposed by feeling and habit to pray for the dead. Judas Maccabæus, who knew not the grace and truth which came by JESUS CHRIST, was an example of the practice before S. Augustine. The Fathers, though our teachers in the Holy Scriptures, are as other uninspired teachers, and lead us by sentiment to error, if we are not watchful. When we consider the nature of man, the province of prayer, and the union of faithful spirits with CHRIST, we perceive the unreasonableness of prayers for the dead. Holy Writ gives the practice no sanction: "GOD hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love, and of a sound mind." In quietness and confidence is our strength. Like David, in this a man after GOD's own heart, the Christian ceases to pray for him whose spirit is fled. He rests in hope. Natural emotion may not guide us here; it cannot be satisfied, but quieted.

The present life limits man's wants and dangers; his responsibilities and his privileges are human. "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life *in this world* shall keep it unto life eternal." The works of darkness are to be cast off and the armor of light put on, *now*, in the time of this mortal life. Now is the accepted time. At burials we confess that GOD has taken the spirit; we therefore commit the body to the ground. This is the end of the natural man; we look next to the resurrection. Those who seek for encouragement from Holy Writ to pray for the dead plead S. Paul's charitable prayer for Onesiphorus, whom they suppose then dead. But it is equally possible that he was (as was his wont) but absent from his household. Besides, S. Paul's prayer does not refer to the period between death and the resurrection, but to *that day*, against which he had committed his own hopes unto CHRIST. He prays that Onesiphorus, who had shared his privations, should then share his rewards, according to the deeds done in the body. At that day, spirit and body, one again, they would stand together. The absence of Scriptural support

for prayers for the dead is further shown by those who would find it in confessedly obscure texts; for example, I Peter iii. 19, which is specially applied to the times of Noah, and the conclusion from which is the great benefit of Holy Baptism. The clear Scriptures are our guides, and they exhort us to die now unto self, if we would be assured of life in CHRIST. If we be dead with CHRIST, we believe that we shall also live with Him. Let me die the death of the righteous. Those who sleep in JESUS shall be satisfied when they awake.

When he would comfort mourners, the Apostle does not suggest prayers for the dead, but offers consolation from the fact that Christians who have fallen asleep are with CHRIST, who will bring them to their own again. Those who have gone before us, no longer in the flesh, which obscures and obstructs our ineffable union with CHRIST, await our coming; they will not regain their perfect manhood without us. Shall we turn from CHRIST's work, by which we are prepared to join these perfect spirits, to pray for them, forgetting that they live in the spirit? Man dieth and wasteth away. We pray for men while they live, while we have time,—for the living who can praise GOD, as men, fathers making known to children GOD's truth.

We know in whom we believe. He is able to keep that which we have committed unto Him against that day, and to present us faultless before the throne. CHRIST receives the spirit, which is His own life. It is not separated from Him as men are in the flesh. Are not prayers for the dead but sentimental, natural, and childish? How can we pray for the returned prodigal, whom the FATHER is clasping to His bosom? CHRIST's "uttermost" is not limited to what we ask or think.

Of course reference is here made to those who die in the LORD. To pray for those who die in sin, we need a gospel which neither our present condition nor Holy Scripture supplies.

Is not the great demand for prayers for the dead caused by a failure to live the mortified life? Those who acknowledge that CHRIST died to give them life, unwilling to give up their lives for His sake, would quiet their fears of the inevitable consequence of their faithlessness. Ever postponing preparation for death during the present life, they would have a plea for postponing it until after death. Against this blind folly the Word of GOD warns us: "Ye are My people and the sheep of My pasture; *to-day*, if ye will hear My voice."

If we follow Nature beyond its sphere, we shall trust to our prayers when we might rest in the LORD.

The natural body has its natural mind, and the spiritual body its spiritual mind. When death puts off the natural, the spiritual is in direct and close sympathy with GOD and eternity, and not with man and time.

Let us pray without ceasing for all men; that our present life may be quiet and peaceable; that we may live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world,— in short, that GOD'S will may be done on the earth.

Let us not presume to follow conjectures concerning the secret things which belong unto the LORD our GOD, but humbly and trustingly follow those which are revealed. Now is the day of salvation.

CHARLES R. BONNELL.

Secular and Christian Education.

Histoire du Vénérable Jean Baptiste de la Salle. By ARMAND RAVELET.
Vie du Frère Philippe. By M. POUJOULAT.

Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes. By GÉNÉRAL BARON ARNTAT.

Les Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes pendant la guerre de 1870-71. By
I. D'ARSAC.

Beatification of the Venerable John Baptiste de la Salle. DE LA SALLE
INSTITUTE, New York.

The Christian Brothers. By Mrs. WILSON.

Pamphlets furnished by DE LA SALLE COLLEGE, Philadelphia.

*What better, what greater service can we of to-day render the Republic than to instruct
and train the young? — CICERO.*

THROUGHOUT Europe, as well as at home, education by the State independently of the Church, and ultimately excluding all religion, is one of the burning questions of the day. And through the clamor for "higher education" for the masses, while a supply of graduates from high schools and colleges rises like a tidal wave before us, it is reassuring to hear on all sides the voices of deep thinkers point out the dangers of unskilled learning. To us of the nineteenth century it is a suggestion of profoundest meaning that the secular as well as the religious press is beginning to recognize the fact that the object of education is to train the mind to be the fittest possible instrument for discerning and obeying the laws under which GOD has placed the universe.

From the language often used by the advocates of secular education, it might be supposed that all care for primary instruction had originated with them. But history shows that long before the State took any concern in the matter, the Church had not only discussed it in her councils and enforced the attention of her ministers to it, but opened schools, founded institutions, and brought actually into existence all the machinery of popular education, of which the secular party would claim the credit. A leading Church monthly says editorially, in a late issue: "The

Roman Catholics have at least a *principle* in view in regard to secular education. It is strange that Protestants cannot see that the world is at enmity with CHRIST, and the whole management of secular schools is influenced more or less (even in their penny-savings-bank system) by educated infidels who are willing to impede, as much as possible, the work of Churches and Sunday Schools for children." And from the recent editorial of a daily paper we quote: "We look to the (Roman) Catholic parochial schools for the best system of manual training. This will make them the typical schools of America; and this is the kind of education of which we have not enough, which we need now and shall need always." Do not these tributes tell their own story of the disheartening results of public-school training, with its materialistic influences, and its gift of the knowledge that makes crime a possibility without the religious principle that alone can meet the temptations and seductions of modern business life? That the acquisition of knowledge, un-supplemented by the development and training of the moral faculties, is productive of harm, not good, will hardly be disputed. The Hon. Eugene Schuyler, writing in a recent number of the *Political Science Monthly*, gives the following account of a people whose conditions the average American mechanic would regard as inconceivable wretchedness. And yet the contrast with our own bulletins of crime, with their painful proportion of youthful offenders barely if quite out of school, and with its influences freshly upon them, surely points its own moral. He says: —

I have lived for over three years on the outskirts of Alassio, a town of 6,000 inhabitants, about halfway between Nice and Genoa. Theft here is rare, burglary unknown, so that we have slept for weeks with doors unlocked and even open,—after the earthquake, for instance,—and never think of locking them during the day, though the house may be quite deserted. A murder has not been known here for fifty years, until recently in a quarrel between workmen from distant provinces; illegitimate children are very rare; crimes produced by lust are almost unknown.

The professions of the secularists of the nineteenth century are, it is true, very different in words from those of a hundred years ago, but their creed and their aims are identical. In no country in the world has their theory been carried so far as in France, — France, which "seems to exist," to use the words of

M. l'Abbé Martin, "for the purpose of trying every conceivable experiment in her own person, in order that other countries may reap the fruit of her experience." And nowhere else can one so effectively study "education" of the poor in its truest sense; for France alone has had the singular advantage of possessing in her midst a body of men, numbering 11,000, who at no expense or trouble to the State have been trained for this very work,—men whose scholars, when allowed to compete with others, carry all before them, not only in examinations in elementary knowledge, but in the higher branches of education.

This remarkable body of men have consecrated themselves to a life in speaking of which an eloquent French speaker, M. Chesbelong, says, they have "neither the joys of family life, nor the consolations of the priesthood; neither the lawful pride of hearth and home, nor that dignity which from the altar is conveyed to the priest, and clothes him with a kind of majesty. In their poor and monotonous existence, wholly devoted to a toil as unremitting as it is inglorious, they meet with many trials and are exposed to great ingratitude, but they are supported by two principles which together form the motive power of their life; namely, the love of GOD, and the love of the people."

Many travellers, interested in parochial work at home, have visited the schools of the Frères Cistines, and admired the perfect order and good management, and the gentle voices of the Brothers, never raised in loud or angry tones; but few, if any, are aware that all this effective system was the invention of their founder, the Venerable Jean Baptiste de la Salle. In any extended survey of popular education, his figure must of necessity occupy a prominent place. Before his time there were zealous workers who did their best to carry out the injunctions and intention of the Church, but they lacked the power and efficiency that come from united, systematic action. And it was not to France alone that he gave schools. His system and the Brothers of his Institute have spread throughout the world. To him his country owes this honor,—that Christian nations, far and near, have applied to her to learn how to educate the children of the poor, have borrowed her books, her methods, and her masters.

In order to understand De la Salle's work, it is necessary to take a retrospective glance at the state of education before his time, and examine what the Church had already done and what remained to be done. If a complete history could ever be

written of the educational institutions of any country, it would probably reach back in that country to the foundation of the Church herself. The earliest reliable records in France date from the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne. Under him schools were opened, of different grades, all over the country. After his reign the prosperity of the higher schools declined. Louis le Débonnaire tried to revive them, but the Norman invasions were beginning to desolate the empire, and almost destroyed all remains of learning and civilization. Charles the Bald made some unsuccessful efforts to restore the ruined schools, but from the ninth to the twelfth century the art of writing ceased to be known by laymen, and was only practised by clerics and monks.

That the Church was not satisfied with this state of things appears from the fact that the Third Lateran Council, held under Pope Alexander III., 1179, issued a decree to the effect that to every Cathedral Church should be attached a school for the gratuitous instruction of clerics and poor scholars; that a sufficient benefice should be set apart to provide a suitable maintenance for the head of the school, and enable him to teach, free of charge, all who desired it. The same rules were re-enacted by the Fourth Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III., 1215, and were acted upon so far as troubled times allowed. Schools revived in the country as well as in towns, and their numbers increased considerably in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth we find universities founded. The manufacture of paper was now improved; it became cheaper and easier to procure, and the art of writing became popular.

In the early part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries popular education again declined. First, the wars with England, and later, the sad religious struggles, brought with them ruin and destruction. Where the church was pulled down, the school was sure to suffer the same fate; but in the latter part of the sixteenth century the canons of the Council of Trent on this point were vigorously followed up by Provincial Councils and Diocesan Synods, and again decrees were made to the effect that there should be a school in every parish, and maintenance provided for a competent ecclesiastic to instruct the children.

The Council of Cambrai, in 1565, under the Archbishop of that See, enacted stringent rules to insure care of the parochial schools. In 1676 the Bishop of Angers writes: —

Among all the cares which the responsibilities of the Episcopal office lay upon us, there is none which we feel more deeply than the instruction of the children. We therefore charge all our clergy to give a portion of their time to this work, wherever a school has not been established. In parishes where there are several priests, the priests shall be held responsible for this duty, or some other examined and approved by the Bishop.

Similar quotations might be made from other Episcopal utterances, as well as from the Acts of the Dioceses of Senez, Aranches, Arras, Besançon, Châlons, Chartres, Autun, Poitiers, and numberless others, showing how general was the attention of the Church to this branch of her work.

In observing the care of the Church for the education of her children, and the abundant provision made for it, the question naturally arises, What more was there left for Jean Baptiste de la Salle to do?

There was one thing the Church had not succeeded in providing, and without which all her care was useless; namely, trustworthy and efficient teachers. The clergy were not equal to the demand, for it was impossible for the incumbent of even a small parish to shut himself up all day in his school, neglecting the services of the Church, the care of his parish, and his own studies and devotions. It was necessary, therefore, to employ laymen; and as there was no provision for training teachers, there could be no security as to their ability, or even personal character. All through the seventeenth century complaints are rife on this score. One bishop accuses his teachers of being "gamesters;" another states that he was obliged to dismiss twelve teachers at once in his own small Diocese. It was this deplorable state of affairs that gave rise to the sudden outbursts of charity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In France alone, no less than fifty different religious foundations are on record within one hundred and fifty years. In Picardy a school-master was dismissed, and the charge of the school undertaken by four young women who lived together in a ruinous old house, and divided their time between teaching, prayer, and manual labor. This humble beginning formed the nucleus of a religious order devoted to the education of poor girls, under the title of Daughters of the Cross (*Filles de la Croix*), and to it was due the first institution for training school-mistresses. Another similar instance was at Ruy, in Auvergne; and, indeed,

every Province in France saw some successful efforts made for the care and education of girls. But with boys the need was as great, and yet no attempt to supply it had any lasting success.

It was the time of that wonderful revival of zeal and devotion in France, in which S. Vincent de Paul is perhaps the best-known figure, though he was but one of a group of learned, devoted, energetic men such as are rarely found in one country in the same half-century. M. Bourdoise, the friend and fellow-worker of S. Vincent de Paul, became the founder of an association for intercessory prayer that GOD would grant to France the blessing of Christian teachers. Seventy ecclesiastics, among them many members of the Community of S. Sulpice, entered into it at once. All were bound to pray without ceasing; and M. Bourdoise wrote, preached, and held conferences on this subject with his accustomed earnestness. This movement began in 1649; two years later Jean Baptiste de la Salle was born. It would be difficult to mention a more manifest answer to intercessory prayer than this. He was the first to gather around him a body of Christian school-masters, and gradually to form them into a religious community, with a regular novitiate for their training and preparation, a superior to guide and direct them, and homes to receive them when they could no longer carry on their work. He induced them to give up their names, their families, their property, in order to make a more unreserved dedication of themselves to the care of the lambs of CHRIST'S flock. Before putting such counsels before them, he put them in practice himself. He gave up a position of ease, comfort, wealth, and dignity, as Canon of Rheims, to become an humble school-master, and the head of a numerous family, which has since spread through the world. He may be said to have been the first to reduce to a scientific system elementary school-teaching; and by making it a rule that none of his community should learn Latin, he prevented schools designed for the poor from being gradually transformed into colleges, whereby those for whose benefit they were founded, would again be left without means of instruction. To elementary day schools he added boarding schools for children without homes, reformatory schools for those who had fallen into crime, Sunday schools for those who were at work during the week, besides preparatory schools for masters who had no vocation to join his strictly religious community, the originals of our training

colleges. In short, it may be said that from his hands came forth a complete machinery of primary education, perfect in all its departments, forestalling, by nearly two hundred years, our educational system of the present day. The family of De la Salle was noble; and the branch to which he belonged had chiefly followed the profession of arms. From his earliest years the child showed a strong religious tendency, and his vocation for the religious life seems to have been apparent from the first, and unopposed by his parents, though he was the eldest son. In his eleventh year he received the tonsure in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal palace at Rheims, and was made Canon of the Cathedral five years later. He received mission orders at Cambrai, and then resumed his studies at the university, where he graduated with distinction in 1669. He then went to the Seminary of S. Sulpice, in Paris; and each onward step deepened his sense of the need of careful preparation for the place and office he had been called to fill. The loss of both father and mother, some months later, leaving six younger brothers and sisters in his charge, raised in his mind a doubt whether it was indeed the will of GOD that he should enter the priesthood. But his own strong conviction, and the advice of his spiritual adviser, M. Roland, a man of singular piety, confirmed him in his lifelong purpose, and he was admitted to the sub-diaconate in 1672. He then went home and spent six years in study and the care of his brothers and sisters, giving all his spare time to prayer and works of mercy. He was ordained in the Cathedral of Rheims on Easter Even, 1678, and very soon after lost his beloved friend and guide, M. Roland. The latter left De la Salle his executor, and especially commended to his care a small orphanage he had established under the name of the Community of the Holy Child JESUS. It was not without effort that the newly ordained priest took up the work bequeathed to him, for his inclination was to the contemplative rather than to the active life. But he applied himself bravely to the charge, as a debt of love, and soon obtained letters-patent from the King, through the interest of the Archbishop, and thus gave the institution a permanent existence. Thus, when a lady, devoted to good works, wished in some way to provide a similar school for little boys, she engaged a devout layman, named Adrien Nyel, to go to Rheims with a letter of introduction to her relative, M. de la Salle. The latter lodged M. Nyel in his own

house, and assisted him to carry out the plan. M. Nyel opened, under De la Salle's advice, a school in the parish of S. Maurice; and this was the first beginning,—the germ, it may be called,—of the vast organization of the Écoles Chrétiennes. Another lady now offered to provide the same advantage for the parish of S. James. M. Nyel advised her to consult M. de la Salle, who would be sure to help her. But De la Salle was by no means eager. He was not so anxious for the extension of the work as for its consolidation; but he consented to visit her, and found it impossible to refuse her entreaties and liberal offerings, and S. James' school was opened that same year. Thus the work grew, little by little, and De la Salle found himself involved in it, almost unawares. He wrote at this time: —

It was by the chance meeting with M. Nyel, and by hearing of the proposal made by that lady, that I was led to interest myself about boys' schools. It was not that the subject had not been suggested to me before. Many of M. Roland's friends had tried to interest me about it; but it took no hold of my mind, and I had not the least intention of occupying myself with it. If I had ever thought that the care which, out of pure charity, I was taking of school-masters, would have brought me to feel it a duty to live with them, I should have given it up at once; for as I naturally felt myself very much above those whom I was obliged to employ as school-masters, especially at first, the bare idea of being obliged to live with such persons would have been insupportable to me. It was, in fact, a great trouble to me when first I took them into my house, and the dislike of it lasted for two years. It was apparently for this reason that God, who orders all things with wisdom and gentleness, and who does not force the inclinations of men, when He willed to employ me entirely in the care of schools, wrought imperceptibly and during a long space of time, so that one engagement led to another in an unforeseen way.

There were now five masters for the two schools; and it came into De la Salle's mind to take a house not far from his own, and establish them there, where he could more easily visit and help them to keep up the spirit of recollection and regularity of life needful if their profession were to be what he aimed at, a truly religious vocation. He fixed the hours for their rising and going to bed, for devotion and for meals, and used to look in several times a day to see that the rules were observed.

Meantime, he continued his study at the University of Rheims,

and took his degree as Doctor of Divinity at the age of thirty. His duties at the Cathedral occupied most of the day, and he could only steal scraps of time for his masters, to whom he was becoming attached in spite of their roughness, for he looked upon them as men whose office it was to lead souls to CHRIST. He decided to have them take their meals with him, and selected books from which one of them read at those times. His relatives were disgusted with this growing intimacy; but he paid no attention to their remonstrances, as the conviction was growing upon him that the only way he could effectually train and guide these young men was to receive them as permanent inmates of his own house. Before coming to any decision, De la Salle went to Paris to ask counsel from Père Barré, who had for years been laboring in the cause of education, and who had failed to gain any influence over the masters of boys' schools, who generally led disorderly lives. The story came to Père Barré as a kind of revelation of the will of GOD. It was plain to him that De la Salle, not himself, was the instrument chosen for this work. His advice settled the question; and on the festival of S. John Baptist, De la Salle received the whole company of school-masters into his house. This put the finishing stroke to the indignation of his friends and the amazement of the world. They said it was not only absurd, but a scandal and disgrace to see the Canon of the Cathedral descend to such a position. But he was equally unmoved by ridicule and discouragement, and lived on with his men, never ceasing his efforts to bring them, not only under external rule, but also into the interior spirit of the religious life. In about a year he moved into a more convenient house, which he and two other ecclesiastics finally bought to secure it to the community. It was seized in the Revolution of 1792, and the Brothers driven out; but in 1880 it was bought, with some adjoining buildings, at a cost of 10,000 francs, and on the anniversary of the day they first entered it, the premises were given back to the Brothers, and they now hold in it a school of over four hundred poor children of Rheims.

The fame of the Rheims school-mastry soon spread, and applications were made to De la Salle with such earnestness that he could not refuse them, and thus his community began to assume proportions he had not dreamed of. He now began to entertain the idea of giving up his canonry and his private fortune. No sooner was this whispered abroad than relatives, friends, supe-

riors, all united to dissuade him. "He sought distinction as the founder of a religious order!" "He wanted to attract attention and to indulge secret pride!" "Holier men than he had been carried away by such temptations." But in silence and retirement, in humility and obedience to the voice of his director, De la Salle tested his motives, and with the result that he resigned his position to one of the humblest and most devoted parish priests in the town; and in the fourth year from the time he first thought of making the care of schools and masters the work of his life, he distributed his whole fortune to the famishing poor of Rheims.

During this time his Institute had gradually been taking shape, and his singleness of devotion and saintly character brought postulants flocking to his house. His life was one incessant communion with GOD; he slept on the ground or in a chair, and regularly spent each Friday night in the church of San Remi. He had always been delicate; and having been brought up in luxury, it was only by indomitable, almost incredible efforts that he conquered his repugnance to the coarse food which as a poor man he shared with his Brothers. They now adopted a distinctive dress, — plain black cassock without a girdle, thick shoes, and a broad-brimmed hat. They longed in their ardor for the protection of vows; but the prudence of their founder insured a probation of three years. Events showed the wisdom of this, for only eight were ready then for the lifelong consecration of themselves. It was in truth no easy life; it was hard from necessity as well as choice. The house was poor; the windows let in the cold; and even in the depths of winter they had no fires. Every day a Brother went out to collect scraps for their dinner, and even this was sometimes taken from them by starving men who waylaid and robbed them. Though poorly lodged, fed, and clothed, yet their countenances shone with a radiant serenity which told of peace, and even joyousness.

One day a lad of fifteen came to the door of the house and begged for admittance, but no one so young could be received; still the young fellow was so earnest and well disposed that De la Salle decided to admit him. No sooner had he done so than three more of the same age knocked at the door with the same prayer. This put it into his mind to form a small community where these young ones might live apart and be trained under a less severe rule, which would serve as a kind of novitiate for the

other house. They were established in an adjoining house, with fixed hours for every duty ; and the training and instruction which De la Salle delighted to give soon stamped the little novitiate, whose numbers quickly increased to twelve, with a definitely religious character. Clergy all through the country now began sending young men to Rheims to beg for training and instruction ; and to meet this pressing need, a third supplementary house was established. Neither these young men nor the poor clergy who sent them could pay for their maintenance, so De la Salle placed them in a separate house under the charge of an experienced Brother, with a rule of life adapted to their condition,—that of devout laymen,—but with the characteristics of the religious life, in its technical sense, omitted. Thus was formed the first training college for ordinary secular school-masters, and with it the whole machinery of primary education may be said to have been completed.

It would far exceed the limits of a review article to trace in detail the marvellous spread of this organization of Christian Brothers, which extends like a vast network from one end of France to the other, and thence to every part of the known world,—not only in Belgium, Austria, Russia, Italy, Great Britain, Ireland, and all the countries of Europe, but in other continents also: in the Levant, India, Cochin China, in Algeria, Madagascar, the Mauritius, Alexandria, Cairo, and the banks of the Nile, and with remarkable success in America, Canada, the United States, the West Indies and South America, and in Australia. The history of these foundations, which succeeded one another with wonderful rapidity in the space of a few years, under Frère Philippe, after the death of the saintly founder, would fill a volume of deepest interest, and no romance could be more thrilling than the story of the heroic bravery of the Christian Brothers during the Franco-Prussian war. The moment it was declared, the venerable Superior placed all the resources of the Institute at the service of the country, and the Brothers themselves were soon called to closer contact with the horrors of war, serving as ambulance-bearers to carry the wounded from the field of Metz, and wait upon them afterward. In the hottest fire they advanced steadily, tenderly lifting the wounded from the ground, with a calm courage that filled even old soldiers with admiration. At Bourget, one Brother fell wounded, and another quickly stepped forward to take his place.

When a suspension of arms was granted for the burial of the dead, it was the Christian Brothers who fulfilled that sacred task. Sixty of them were thus employed after the battle of Champigny ; and when all was finished, after exhausting toil, and the Brothers had brought a large black wooden cross and planted it upon the common grave, they knelt down upon the snow-covered ground and said the *De Profundis*. Even the Prussian officers were profoundly moved, and said : " We have seen nothing like this before." In the hospitals as well as on the field, the Brothers served, seeming to multiply themselves ; and through all the siege of Paris their schools were never closed. During the Commune they were all closed except S. Nicolas, which went on as usual, and through the worst of that time had three hundred children, with thirty Brothers in charge. Another most important work intrusted to the Christian Brothers was the charge of prisoners. The first attempt was made at Nimes, at the request of the local authorities, in 1841. The result upon the convicts was an improvement so wonderful that within a few years a large house of correction at Fontevrault, where twelve hundred adult criminals and two hundred boys were confined, was put into the hands of the Brothers. Forty-eight Brothers were sent there, and later, fifty to Melun and twenty to Arnavil. After the Revolution of 1848, changes took place in the prison regulations which made it necessary for the Superior to ask leave of the Home Office to withdraw his Brothers. This was granted with expressions of gratitude for " the devotion " of the Brothers and their valuable services. May not this successful experiment serve, at some future time, as a guide and help toward the solution of the difficult problem how to make houses of correction real reformatories instead of hot-beds of vice and misery ?

It must never be supposed that in the Christian schools religion was taught to the neglect of secular learning. One hour only, out of six and a half, was given to distinctly religious instruction ; and while the careful and minute directions which De la Salle drew up for the guidance of the Brothers in the conduct of their schools show that he held religious teaching to be the foundation of everything, the instruction of the children in reading, writing, and arithmetic was most carefully and effectually done. Those who have to do with elementary schools nowadays are so accustomed to *class teaching* that it would probably

never occur to them as anything but the natural and obvious way of giving a lesson to a large number of children, whereas it was, in fact, *invented* by the genius of one man. The founder of the Christian schools first began it in France, about a hundred years before anything of the kind was introduced into England.

Before his time the only method of instruction in elementary schools was individual teaching of each child. One by one the scholars were called up by the master to be taught singly, so that in a school, say of twenty-four boys, supposing five minutes to be spent upon each, it would take two hours to give a lesson all round ; while all the other scholars would be left to themselves for an hour and fifty-five minutes. How three-and-twenty boys would be likely to spend this time, even though they might have lessons set and books before them, need not be described. De la Salle wrote various books on different branches of education, but that which deserves special notice was his *Conduite à l'usage des Écoles Chrétiennes*. Copies of this in manuscript were given to all Brothers in charge of schools, and it was widely circulated, but was never printed during his life. It has been the manual and *vade mecum* of all the Christian Brothers ever since ; and the edition published in 1860 by the then Superior-General says : "It is evident that a book of this kind can never assume a form which is to be final." But the book is the same in all its main lines, and the principles and spirit which pervade it are the same, for the experience of a century has added but little to what De la Salle laid down.

The manual is very comprehensive, treating of all points in the management of elementary schools, — such as time-tables, subjects to be taught, the manner of teaching, books to be used, classing of children and the best way of dealing with different characters, the rules which should guide a master in giving rewards and punishments, the best means of promoting regular attendance, and many other points, all dealt with in detail and with great practical wisdom. Directions are also given about furniture of school-rooms, the height of desks and benches, the best kind of ink-bottles, pictures for walls, the best arrangement for light, air, etc. It may be doubted whether the long and elaborate codes which issue from departments of education contain as much practical good sense as this small 12mo volume of 270 pages. A Brother sent to open a school with this manual in his pocket knows what directions to give to a builder or a

carpenter, and what to order from a bookseller, besides being provided with counsels of a graver kind as to the graces specially to be cultivated in himself, and the faults he should watch against. One or two extracts will best show its value. They are taken from the edition of 1720:—

While one reads, all the other children in the class follow the words in their books. The master must watch very carefully to see that all read to themselves what one is reading aloud, and from time to time he must put some of them on to read a few words, that he may take them by surprise, and make sure that they are really following the reading.

This may seem absurdly simple; so do many discoveries and inventions of genius when once they are made and adopted into general use; and it must never be forgotten that this method of teaching — that is, giving a lesson to a whole class of children together — was De la Salle's *invention*, and then quite new.

Here are the instructions for a lesson in arithmetic: —

"After the children have done their sums on the paper, instead of correcting them himself, the master will make the children find out their mistakes for themselves by rational explanation of the processes. He will ask, for instance, why in addition of money they begin with the lowest coin, and other questions of the same kind, to make sure that they have an intelligent understanding of what they do." When farther advanced, the boys were to be made first to copy and then compose all kinds of letters and documents of a business kind. At the end of the week they were also to write out what they remembered of the instructions they had received. It would not be easy to devise a more practically useful kind of education than this. But there was another branch of educational training to which De la Salle attached so much importance that he required it to be distinctly taught, and himself wrote a manual of it, of which three editions were printed during his lifetime. The title of this book is, *Les Règles de la Bienséance, et de la Civilité Chrétienne*. In the preface he says: —

It is a surprising thing that most Christians only think of civility and good-breeding as purely human and belonging to this world. This shows how little real Christianity there is in the world, and how few persons there are who live and behave according to the spirit of JESUS CHRIST. All our outward actions, to which alone the rules of good-breeding can apply, should bear upon them a character of virtue.

The counsels to the masters themselves are those of one who knew by personal experience the trials and temptations which beset their office. He warns them against any kind of harshness and severity toward the children, and gives six instances of ways in which they may err in that direction.

When years and increasing infirmity unfitted the saintly De la Salle for further exertion, his children at Rouen begged that he might at least die among them ; and he did return to them in 1718, crippled with rheumatism and suffering from asthma. While freely alluding to the approach of death, he was always careful not to betray, by look or manner, the pains he was suffering ; his countenance was serene and cheerful, and he relaxed none of his accustomed austerities. His soul dwelt in unbroken communion with GOD, and he only waited with longing for the moment when the last ties that bound him to earth should be severed. On Wednesday, in Holy Week, 1719, he asked for the Viaticum, and spent the whole of the previous night in preparation. His little cell was decorated as well as the poverty of the house allowed ; and when the time came, he insisted upon being taken out of bed and dressed, and vested in surplice and stole. When the sound of the bell announced the coming of the priest, he threw himself on his knees and received his last communion with the same wonderful devotion which so often appeared to those who assisted at his Mass, only with even more of the fire of love in his face. At four o'clock in the morning of Good Friday he fell asleep ; and so soon as the news of his death was spread abroad, the house was surrounded by crowds who begged to look once more upon the face of the saint, and to carry away some remembrance of him. He had nothing belonging to him but a crucifix, a New Testament, and a copy of the *Imitation*, but his poor garments were cut up and distributed in little bits to satisfy the people. He was laid to rest, very quietly, in the church of S. Severns ; but the coffin was twice moved,—once to the church belonging to the community of S. Yon, and afterward to a chapel of theirs in the town of Rouen, where it now lies.

In 1833 the night schools for adults were carried on with such success, and attracted such marked attention, that M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, obtained for the Brothers an annual grant of 8,400 francs, with many words of approbation, the more valuable as coming from a Protestant. M. Guizot also

endeavored more than once to persuade the Superior, Frère Anadet, to accept the cross of the Legion of Honor, but it was always declined, as being inconsistent with the spirit of the rules of the saintly founder of the Institute.

It will be of especial interest to us, as Americans, to know that when, after the disasters of the Prussian invasion of 1871, the city of Boston placed at the disposal of the French Academy a special prize of 2,000 francs, to be given to whoever should be judged most worthy of the honor on account of services rendered during the siege and in presence of the enemy, the Academy could find no more fitting recipient of this honor than the Community of Christian Brothers. They had sent during the whole time of the war 500 infirmarians into the battle-fields, one of whom had fallen under the Prussian fire at Bourget. Public opinion fully indorsed the decision, when the first literary body in the world adjudged this reward to the humble corps of the Frères des Écoles Chrétiniennes. At the same time the National Defence Government insisted on decorating their venerable Superior with a cross of honor. He would have refused, as his predecessor had already done many times, and only yielded when told there was nothing personal in the honor, that it was only as the representative of the Society he was asked to wear it.

According to statistics published in San Francisco some time since, over twenty-nine millions and a half of the people of these United States do not profess *any religion at all*. Surely this falling off from membership with the sects and return to paganism is due in a large measure to the want of *Christian* education of the young.

M. Froude says, in his paper on Science and Theology: "We keep the conventional forms because none of us likes to acknowledge what we all know to be true,—that we do not believe; we do not even believe that we believe,—the Bishops themselves no more than the rest of us; no more than the College of Augurs in Cato's time believed in the sacred chickens." Such is the condition of the non-Catholic world to-day. It is therefore a happy omen for the future, in the midst of the materialism and agnosticism blindly sowing seeds of anarchy, to find in our midst, and increasing in numbers and favor, such consecrated teachers as the Christian Brothers.

Treating of education in France, a writer in the *Nineteenth Century* tells us that out of 339 pupils who obtained exhibi-

tions in Paris in 1878, 242 belonged to the Christian Brothers. He goes on to say that between 1847 and 1877, out of 1445 exhibitions which were thrown open to general competition, 1145 were carried off by the Christian Brothers' boys. And this is the more noteworthy because the candidates from secular schools were the larger number, and the schools in which they had been taught had received in seven years the amount of 40,000,000 francs for their support. The same ability characterizes the teaching of the Brothers the world over. The heart of a child who is sure of being loved is quite sure to love again; and to quote again the words of M. Chesbelong:—

If you ask the Christian Brother whence he has derived this feeling, at once so grave and so sweet, toward the little ones, who must perpetually try his patience, he will tell you that he has heard in the secret depths of his heart the Voice of his own MASTER, saying, ‘These children are dear to Me; be a father and more than a father to them. If thy heart is not large enough to embrace them, I will enlarge it after the pattern of My own; if they weary thee, I will be thy Consolation; if thou sink under the burden, I will be thy Reward.’

It is not the intention of the writer to enter further into the religious or political aspects of this deeply interesting question. The conflict of faith against unfaith has not yet closed in upon us as it has elsewhere; but to many who are capable of forming a judgment, it seems as if the outworks of the Church and of the Faith were being, one by one, occupied by the enemy.

Many reflective minds believe we are now sowing the wind, and are certain to reap our harvest of whirlwind. What we need, then, what society requires, is the inculcation of Christian principles in the hearts of the young. This it is that will elevate our race and defeat more effectively than anything else the combined attack of the powers of darkness on the doctrines of Divine Revelation.

MARY A. PRICE.

Christianity in Africa.

Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade. Edited by RICHARD F. CLARKE, S. J., Trinity College, Oxford. London and New York : Longmans, Green, and Company. 1889.

Stanley's Emin Pasha Expedition. By A. J. WAUTERS, Chief Editor of the *Mouvement Géographique*, Brussels. With map, thirty-three portraits and illustrations. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott. 1890.

THERE has been much to recall the attention of Christians to Africa,—Africa, once in the very forefront of Christendom, so prodigal in martyrs, so rich in confessors, so abundant in theologians; Africa, that made the other three continents her debtors for Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine; Africa, that enlightened Europe is now asking that she may receive back some rays of the light she gave. Public curiosity is whetted as to what adventures befell Stanley in his last expedition; and before the floodgates of comments on his doings are opened, it may be as well for Churchmen to see what a branch of the Church has been doing patiently and quietly, not only on the seaboard, but inland.

The volume by Father Clarke consists of two parts, the first dealing with the life and labors of Charles-Martial Allemand-Lavigerie as priest, bishop, cardinal, and metropolitan; the other with the African slave trade. At the outset, a word of just praise is due to the biographer, whose sole ambition is to place Lavigerie before the reader; not once in this bulky volume does the biographer intrude himself upon our notice. The story of the life of this noble prelate is allowed to unfold itself. So skilfully is this done that the reader forgets at times it is a biography, much less that of a living man; it might be the story of Apostolic labors such as John Mason Neale delighted to tell. Mr. Clarke is forgotten completely after the titlepage and preface have been passed. This is the highest praise we can accord a biographer.

Charles-Martial Allemand-Lavigerie was born at Bayonne, Oct. 31, 1825. He early manifested his desire to enter the

sacred ministry, his ambition being, as he himself confessed to the Bishop of Bayonne, to be priest of a country parish. He received his first training for the ministry at the Diocesan Seminary at Larresorre. Leaving the seminary at fifteen, he was placed by his father under the Abbé Dupanloup, then Superior of the Lesser Seminary of S. Nicholas in Paris, and destined to become the famous Bishop of Orleans. Three years afterward he went to S. Sulpice. In December, 1846, he was ordained sub-deacon by Mgr. Affre; in December, 1848, deacon by Mgr. Sibour (afterward martyred by the Communists), and priest, June 2, 1849, by the same prelate, under a dispensation from Rome, as he had not attained the canonical age of twenty-four. The rare talents and disposition to study of the young priest attracted the attention of his superiors, and immediately on his obtaining his doctor's degree he was appointed Professor of Latin literature in the House of Studies, an institution founded by Mgr. Affre. Here he remained till the early part of 1854. In December of the previous year, at the special request of Mgr. Sibour, young Lavigerie competed for a vacant chaplaincy in the chapter of Ste. Geneviève, and came out first. The impression, however, which he had made on his professors was so great that the Archbishop of Paris introduced him to the Minister of Public Instruction with a view to his nomination to the chair of ecclesiastical history at the Sorbonne. This coveted dignity was conferred on him; and he entered upon his duties in the beginning of 1854, that is to say, in his thirtieth year. Of his lectures it need only be remarked that he revived the Jansenist controversy, taking the ultramontane view. In the third year of his professorship there was formed in Paris a society destined to play a great part in the history of Catholic missions because destined to be connected with the remainder of the life of the young Sorbonne professor. The society was that for the Promotion of Christian Education in the East. Father de Ravignan, who was Lavigerie's confessor, proposed to him that he should accept the direction of the new society. How it was formally given him we will let Lavigerie tell us in his own words:

The next morning ¹Father Gagarin made his appearance at my lodgings and carried me off with him in triumph to the room where the committee were holding a meeting under the presidency of Admiral Mathieu. The good Father did not leave me time to speak, but explained that he had arranged everything, and I had merely come to receive the grateful

thanks of the committee. They were duly expressed ; and then the accounts were handed over to me, together with the cash-box, the latter being absolutely empty ! As we left the house together, Father Gagarin looked at me with a droll smile, saying, as he did so, 'My dear Abbé, you are now afloat ; it remains for you to show us how well you can swim !' [p. 10].

To fill that empty purse was, of course, the first duty ; and whenever his work at the Sorbonne permitted, he visited different neighborhoods, preaching on behalf of, and collecting subscriptions for, the new society. Of those days the Cardinal tells many amusing incidents. After speaking of the kindnesses he met, he goes on, —

But the roses were by no means free from thorns, and I was bowed out of houses not a few, in a manner which was the reverse of flattering either to the cause I was advocating or to myself personally. People professed to be ignorant alike of the existence of the society and of the Abbé Lavigerie, — nay, more, of the very Sorbonne itself ! If I persisted and tried to make matters plainer, it was sometimes delicately insinuated that I must be the impostor who had been recently making the round of the neighborhood attired in clerical garb, and who was 'wanted' by the police [p. 11].

On one occasion the Bishop, not being able to refuse his permission to the Abbé to preach in his cathedral on behalf of the society, took care to be absent. The Vicar-General did his best to discourage the zeal of the preacher by painting the liberality of the people in the darkest colors, and strongly advised the Abbé to give up all thought of preaching, the results would be so meagre, not worth the trouble. The Abbé, however, persisted ; and the result was that though the privilege of having a collection at the church doors had been refused, yet after the sermon the whole congregation thronged in the vestry, displaying a liberality beyond the preacher's wildest expectations. Turning round to the discomfited Vicar-General, the Abbé neatly turned the tables on him by exclaiming, "Do you see what a false impression you have given of your Bishop and your Diocese ? I never met with such success before."

In one place the Dean of the cathedral flatly refused the Abbé permission to preach. By a singular turn of the wheel, a few years afterward the Bishop of that Diocese died, and the vacant See was offered to the excluded priest. The Cardinal says of

that incident, "I could not repress a secret smile as I pictured to myself the discomfiture of the unlucky priest, should he find himself obliged solemnly to induct into his church the very man he had so unceremoniously thrust out of it."

Funds having been procured for the society, the Pope was asked to sanction it. This he did by two briefs, dated Dec. 13, 1857, and Jan. 29, 1858. Being organized, the society had now to wait for an opportunity to commence work. That opportunity was afforded by the Lebanon massacres, where over 50,000 Christians perished. Lebanon being under the protectorate of France, that power sent a military expedition to save the remnant that escaped the fury of the Moslem persecution. Military protection needed, however, to be supplemented by aid to the orphans, widows, and helpless. It was to afford that succor that the Society for the Promotion of Christian Education appealed to Christian France. The appeal was supported by the entire Episcopate of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and by the Roman bishops in England and Ireland. By March, 1860, M. Lavigerie had at his disposal two millions of francs in cash, besides an abundance of contributions in kind, clothes, necessary articles, ecclesiastical vestments, and furniture. In September, accompanied by Dr. Jauberry, a doctor of skill and experience, M. Lavigerie left Paris to superintend in person the distribution of these alms; here M. Lavigerie at once exhibited those powers of organization and administration which have so marked his career. Two orphanages were founded, one for girls, another for boys, at Beyrouth. The scenes of the massacres were visited, and all done that was possible to alleviate the wretchedness of the scanty handful of Christians left, to infuse new courage in their breasts, and to procure the restoration to their homes of those who had been taken away as slaves. For six months M. Lavigerie remained in the East. On his return he received from Napoleon III. the cross of the Legion of Honor. An address was forwarded to the Pope by the Roman bishops in the East, and also one by the Orthodox Greek bishops, both praising the work done by M. Lavigerie. The office of auditor of the Rota for France, which has always been considered as a stepping-stone to the Cardinalate, was conferred on the Abbé by the Vatican at the request of the court of France. The new office carried with it the dignities of domestic prelate to the Pope, and a member of the highest tribunal of the Roman

court. This was in October, 1861. In 1863, the See of Nancy becoming vacant, he was nominated by the court of France, and appointed by the Vatican its bishop. No sooner had he taken possession of his See than he instituted a fund for the aged and infirm clergy of the Diocese. Within three years the fund had reached 70,000 francs. He next established a Diocesan tribunal for the trial of incriminated priests,—a most needed measure to check slanderous accusations, and to bring the guilty to punishment. The Bishop's See was approved of at Paris and at Rome. He next founded a House of Studies where the clerical professors of secular education in the Diocese could be thoroughly instructed and prepared for their degrees, so as to remove from the Church schools and colleges the stigma of incompetent professors in the secular branches. Thus the standard of secular studies was permanently raised; and to this day the Diocese of Nancy stands highest in the standard of secular attainment reached by the clerical schools. Having thus provided a staff of teachers, the next point was the amelioration of the studies of the scholars, and of the financial position of the schools. To effect this double object, the course of studies was revised and reformed, the Diocesan schools compelled to pay a tenth of their income into a common fund to help any that might be in temporary straits, and to afford means of giving a pension to professors of twenty-five years' standing. Two religious communities of women were founded,—which were destined, before long, to afford the Bishop the most practical help in Algeria,—one with the object of teaching and caring for the poor and sick in country districts, the other to open up and direct the founding of workrooms for girls. Such communities, be it said, are just what we need here in America to re-Christianize our rural population, so fast drifting into paganism. Such was the work effected in three years; for in 1866, Marshal MacMahon, then Governor-General of Algeria, offered him the Bishopric of Algiers. By a decree of Pius IX., the See of Algiers was raised to an Archbishopric with the two Suffragan Sees of Oran and Constantine. In May, 1867, the new Archbishop took possession of his new See. Now we come to the real life of Charles-Martial Allemand-Lavigerie, for which the preceding years and work had been, in the providence of GOD, but a preparation. The great hindrance to the work of the Archbishop lay in the timid and bureaucratic spirit of the Government. The Church

went too fast. Converts were being made too rapidly. The Church institutions were rising too swiftly. When the cholera devastated the colony in 1867, the Archbishop and his clergy were devoted to the relief of the sufferers. All the orphans from every part of the Province were, by direction of the Archbishop, forwarded to him for him to provide for.

"First of all," he writes, "I took in one, then ten, then all who either came of their own accord or whom the priests of the Diocese had by my orders picked up by the wayside; at last I found I had two thousand on my hands." When the plague and the famine that succeeded ceased, the Archbishop found that he had over a thousand orphans left on his hands. The rest had either died or been claimed by friends or relatives. When these children grew up and had of necessity to leave the orphanage, Christian villages were founded on the outskirts, recruited from time to time by the boys and girls who had grown up under Christian training in the orphanage. The first of these Christian colonies was named after the great African prelate, S. Cyprian. These continuous successes of the Church aroused the hostility of the Government. The Government had laid down as its policy the complete non-interference with the Arabs. There should be the French on one side, on the other the Arabs. Between the two the great gulf was fixed over which none could pass. The army — and Algiers is a military colony — especially were opposed to colonization and assimilation. Not only, are we assured, were the mosques and Mahometan schools subventioned, but the missionaries who taught in the Catholic schools for the natives were actually threatened with fine and imprisonment unless they desisted from their work! This by the Government of the eldest daughter of the Church! Incredible as this may seem, it must be the fact, else the Archbishop in a public remonstrance addressed to the Governor-General would never have dared to have said: —

The venerated Superior of the Grand Séminaire, too, was publicly threatened with imprisonment, and even the galleys, for having picked up in the gutters of Algiers some little orphan boys of whom he wanted to make useful members of society. . . . Finally, — a thing almost incredible, — the doctrines of the Koran taught, in the name of France, to a people who were unacquainted with them, such as the inhabitants of Kabylia [p. 59].

To win the right of preaching the Gospel undisturbed, the Archbishop, notwithstanding the personal influence at the court of the Tuileries of the French bishops, of M. de Montalembert, and of the outspoken official support of the Pope, found a hard task. It required a visit in person to Paris; and even then all that could be wrung from Napoleon III. was the publication in the official journal of a complimentary letter to the Archbishop from the Minister of War. It was a letter endeavoring to conciliate both parties,—the Church and the Army. The fall of the third empire, and the consequent abolition of military rule in Algeria, was a happy release out of the difficulties of the situation. The new governor, Admiral Gueydon, appears to have been a devout man, and entered at once heartily into the projects of the Archbishop. The Admiral's term of office was unhappily short, and the hostile feeling against the Church broke out with intenser virulence, on account of having been pent up a while. The Archbishop was accused of aiming at supreme political power, and of becoming *Dictator of Algeria*. Childish as such accusations seem to men in their sober senses, they were nevertheless greedily caught up; and when the Assembly, at his request, voted 90,000 francs for two years to aid in establishing the schools and villages, the fury of the Church's enemies could not be restrained, and a former Prefect of Algiers, now a deputy of the Assembly, formally arraigned the Archbishop in the Assembly. A remonstrance addressed by Mgr. Lavigerie to the Marshal MacMahon saved the subsidy for that year, but the next year it was not passed. Consequently not only could no new work be commenced, but the actual work had in various ways to be retrenched. After the storm succeeded a lull. The Archbishop profited by the brief period of peace by improving the Church edifices and building sixty-nine new churches and chapels within his Diocese, by starting a newspaper, by promoting the interests of agriculture (buying tracts of barren soil, having them cultivated by his orphans, and then, when fertile, deeding them free to an endowment to the Church institutions), and by establishing a home for the aged poor.

Summoned to attend the so-called Ecumenical Council, famous for the promulgation of the heretical dogma of Papal infallibility, Mgr. Lavigerie went with the expressed determination of siding with the Pope at all hazards. We are not surprised therefore to hear that, on the promulgation of the dogma,

he called on all clergy to profess their acceptance of it *vivid voce*.

We now enter upon a third stage of the life of Mgr. Lavigerie, his work as founder and sustainer of Algerian missions. How the work originated is best stated in Father Clarke's own words: —

He sighed for a band of men specially trained to aid him in his work (of evangelizing Africa). One day, when he had been thinking over the steps to be taken for the attainment of this end, the Superior of the Seminary at Kouba entered, accompanied by three young men. This ecclesiastic, generally known amongst the Algerian clergy — all of whom had been trained under his care — by the name of the *Ancient Father*, on account of his great age and venerable appearance, had for nearly forty years been longing for the moment when France (by whose arms the gates of the vast continent had already been opened) should carry into its dark interior the Gospel of Peace. Knowing that the Archbishop cherished the same wishes as himself, that it was in fact the hope of realizing these wishes which had induced him to exchange the See of Nancy for that of Algiers, this aged son of S. Vincent of Paul now conducted to him three of his seminarists, and bent his snowy head to receive the Episcopal blessing. It was given with mingled feelings of wonder and emotion, for the visit was quite unexpected, and the offer, coinciding as it did so singularly with the subject of his thoughts, seemed to the Archbishop to have been directly inspired by Heaven.

But it was not enough to find young men desirous of devoting themselves to the African missions ; the next thing was to provide the means of training them for the work. Here, again, Providence appeared to interpose, for at this juncture two good priests, the one a Jesuit, the other a Saint-Sulpician, both since dead, came to Algiers for the benefit of the climate, and asked Mgr. Lavigerie for some employment suited to their enfeebled health. A house was hired, and to their charge the three aspirants were confided, to be carefully prepared for their future career. Such was the first novitiate of the Society of African Missions, founded by Mgr. Lavigerie. . . . The course of training extended over five years ; during that time the number of novices increased continually, and the shabby little house they at first occupied soon became too small to accommodate them. . . . In 1873 the Provincial Council published a decree, afterwards ratified by the Holy See, giving formal sanction to the new society [p. 92].

When the papers of a candidate for the society had to be indorsed, the Archbishop, instead of the usual formula, wrote : *Vu pour le martyre* (certified for martyrdom).

The Constitution of the society exempted it from the authority of the Archbishop of Algiers, and made it subject only to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Delegate of the Sahara, which office had lately been conferred upon Mgr. Lavigerie.

Some years previously the sacred congregation of the Propaganda had created two new African missions. The one bounded on the north by Tripoli and on the west by Egypt included the eastern Sahara, and was subject to the Vicar-Apostolic of Alexandria ; the other comprised the territories which lie between the Atlantic on the west, Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis on the north, Fezzan on the east, Senegal and Guinea on the south. The ecclesiastical government of this latter, a vast tract of country, was given to the Archbishop of Algiers, with the title of Apostolic Delegate. To the south of Algeria stretches an immense sea of sand, on whose arid surface oases of greater or less extent are scattered like islands on the bosom of the ocean. It was the outposts of Algeria which lay on the borders of the wide expanse of territory which comprised the Libya and Ethiopia of the ancients, and is now known to us as the Sahara, that the missionaries first established a footing, and chose as their stations Biskra, Geryville, Laghouat, Metlili [p. 97].

At first the missionaries endeavored to win the affection of the people by healing their bodies and by little acts of kindness. No open preaching was allowed. Their influence thus rapidly extended; and patients came from afar, taking back with them into the interior nothing but praises of the Christian missionaries. At last, in 1875, a decisive step was taken. It was determined to push farther into the interior; and in December an expedition set off for Timbuctoo. Father Paulmier and two companions set out under an escort of five Touaregs. Nothing further has ever been heard of them; but their bodies were subsequently found within a short distance of Timbuctoo. They had joined the noble army of martyrs. "Their bodies, beheaded, were found lying side by side, as if they had drawn near to each other for mutual support and absolution, and had knelt down to receive the fatal stroke."

Foiled in that direction, the White Fathers (so the Algerian missionaries were called, on account of wearing the long white Arab robe) essayed another route. A mission station was opened at Ghadames, a little town situated in one of the oases of the Tripolitan Sahara. Hence three more missionaries issued, to receive the same reward, — the crown of martyrdom.

The expedition to Kabylia was more successful; and though the growth was slow, it was steady and assured. After a personal visit, the Archbishop decided that he could venture to supplement the work of the Fathers by that of missionary Sisters. He had founded such a community, who were only waiting the word of permission to proceed inland. The moral superiority of these women, their self-devotedness and untiring charity, filled the Moslems with astonishment and admiration. An old Turk once accosted one of these good Sisters, and touching her dress, said,—

“Tell me, Sister, when you came down from heaven, did you wear the same dress in which we now see you?”

The formation in 1876 by the King of the Belgians of the International Association to explore Equatorial Africa, drew the attention of the Propaganda at Rome to the efforts already made by Archbishop Lavigerie in that direction. One of the first acts of the present Pontificate was the erection of four Vicariates in the region of the Equatorial Lakes; namely, Nyanza, Tanganyika, Northern and Southern Upper Congo. The charge of these was intrusted to Mgr. Lavigerie. On March 25, 1878, the first band of missionaries, ten in number, five for Nyanza, five for Tanganyika, set out from Zanzibar, and on June 19, they left Bagamoyo, reaching, on July 26, Mpwa-pwa. Here commenced the more arduous part of their journey. Weary and worn out, man and beast at last reached Ugogo,—a land famous for its pillaging and treacherous people. At each stage of the journey, some petty chieftain stopped the expedition until tribute had been paid him. The worry and anxiety of these repeated delays, in addition to the hardships of the route, soon told on the little band. In August, Joachim Pascal, the leader of the missionaries destined for Tanganyika, died. On reaching Tabora, the band had to divide, one half northward for Nyanza, the other westward for Tanganyika. The Tanganyika contingent reached Ujiji, the principal town on the lake shore, and were hospitably entertained by Captain Hore of the English Church Missionary Society. After a brief stay at Ujiji, the Roman Fathers decided to move northward into the more peaceful and populous kingdom of Urundi. The chieftain promised them his assistance; and they hoped to be able to do better work there than at Ujiji, where the Mussulman influence over the native population was all-powerful.

The other contingent, destined for Nyanza, reached their destination after a journey of fifteen months from their departure at Zanzibar. They were cordially received by Mtesa, the King of Uganda,—a cordiality due, it is said, to the forethought of Mgr. Lavigerie, in sending him a box of discarded clothes of official personages, which, owing to the frequent changes of government at Paris, could be cheaply obtained. Under the fostering kindness of Mtesa an orphanage for children rescued from slavery was soon established. Classes of catechumens were formed, several of whom received baptism on the following Easter. On receiving this encouraging news, Mgr. Lavigerie sent out another expedition, consisting of twelve missionaries accompanied by six Pontifical zouaves, four being Belgians, and two Scotchmen. Of this band eight perished by the way,—four priests, three zouaves, and one lay brother; and had it not been for Protestant missionaries the remainder would have perished from hunger. The arrival of the reinforcement enabled Father Livinhac, the Superior of the Nyanza mission, to establish a permanent mission at Tabora, which has since grown into considerable proportions. The arrival of the other half of the expedition at Tanganyika allowed the Fathers of that mission to stretch out a helping hand to the district of Massanzé. The people there had long been soliciting the Fathers to establish a community among them. The advantages of opening ground at Massanzé are apparent. A look at the map will show that a post there would give access to the Upper Congo. A terrible disaster, however, soon overtook the parent mission at Tanganyika. The Fathers had been in the habit of purchasing such young negro slaves as they could, and instructing them in the Holy Faith. The tribe of the Wakibari did all they could to prevent this by enticing or carrying off the children thus rescued. Remonstrances were unavailing. At last the Fathers threatened that an army force would be sent against the Wakibari for the rescue of a boy they had stolen. The chief thereupon swooped down on the mission-house. Two of the priests and two lay brethren, issuing to ascertain the cause of the raid, fell, mortally struck by poisoned arrows. When the news of this catastrophe reached Mgr. Lavigerie, notwithstanding that a fresh expedition of fifteen more missionaries had recently set out, it was with difficulty the Bishop could restrain the zeal of the White Fathers.

I am obliged to do a thing that is seldom necessary, and least of all in this age of universal apathy and indifference. I am obliged to moderate, nay, more, to condemn their thirst for sacrifice, to reprove their rash ardor, their courageous devotion, and even treat it as foolishness,—that sublime foolishness of the Cross which is found in all true apostles throughout the world, before which we all bow in spirit, though obliged by prudence to restrain it [p. 155].

So wrote the Archbishop when the news of the disaster at Urundi reached him. The Archbishop, in 1884, rightly concluded that in view of the growing work at Nyanza and Tanganyika, those far-distant posts ought not to be left without the Episcopate. Accordingly, in 1884, Father Livinhac, of the Nyanza mission, was consecrated Bishop of that region, and Father Charbonnier Bishop of Tanganyika. On his return with a fresh band of laborers to his post, Bishop Livinhac found that a cruel persecution had broken out. The Moslem slave-dealers, jealous of the successes of the Fathers, stirred up King Mtesa to have recourse to violence to stop further missionary efforts. The missionaries, in the absence of Livinhac, prudently determined to withdraw for a while from Uganda. At this juncture Mtesa died and was succeeded by Mwanga. This chief immediately ordered the missionaries to return to the capital, and at first treated them with every mark of respect. He regularly recited the LORD'S Prayer, and urged that his people should be taught by the native Christians. These Christians, when a plot was formed to assassinate Mwanga on account of his defection from the faith of his fathers, and replace him by his younger brother, revealed it to the King. The prime minister, who was the chief conspirator, was pardoned, but henceforth was the implacable foe of the Christians. Here was one source of danger. The Germans were just then setting out on their blood-and-iron policy of civilizing Africa. Here was another source of danger.

Mwanga, prejudiced against the whites by his prime minister, and thus rendered suspicious, saw an enemy in the white man whom his spies informed him was approaching by way of Bous-saga, accompanied by a strong escort. He might be the advance-guard of the white invaders. To be on the safe side, Mwanga ordered that the white man and his company be killed. That white man was Bishop Hannington.

The storm now burst on the native Christians. The record

of their constancy under torture reads like a chapter of the History of the Early Church in Africa. The faith of these men, but lately the grossest of heathens, shames our lukewarmness and armchair Christianity. The first to suffer was Joseph Mkasa, by whom the conspiracy had been revealed. His last message to his King before he was beheaded was: "Tell Mwanga that he has condemned me unjustly; but I forgive him with all my heart. Tell him, too, that I advise him to repent, for unless he does so, he will have to answer for me before the tribunal of GOD." When the message was delivered to Mwanga, he had another man killed, and caused the ashes of the two to be mixed together. "Now," said he, "nobody can distinguish between them, so how can he plead against me before GOD?" The King thenceforth appears to have lost his head, and have been maddened by fear and fury. Meeting a boy teaching some others, he asked him what he was doing. "Teaching the Catechism," was the reply. The King in his rage ran him through the body. The same evening a general massacre of all the Christians was ordered, and the gates closed to prevent any bearing the news to the missionaries. A native Christian, however, escaped and warned them. Father Lourdel immediately set out to intercede for the Christians. He arrived just in time to see his converts boldly step forward on the order from the King: "Let all who pray stand apart." Men, youths, and mere boys joyfully stepped forward, were seized, bound, dragged out, and executed. The Father was not allowed to speak to them, nor would Mwanga grant him an interview. Hardly had he left than the most influential of the native converts, Andrew Kagona, was arrested and beheaded. It was at this juncture that Bishop Livinhac reached his Diocese. The King endeavored to prevent his joining his clergy, but failed. The Bishop boldly remonstrated with the King, and courageously asked him for boats to proceed farther south. The King parleyed for a month. During that month the Bishop writes: "Not a single night passed without a visit from several of our converts. Sometimes I was called up four or five times during the night to receive them, and I was able to administer confirmation to ninety-seven individuals."

The story of these dark days reads so like a page out of the history of S. Cyprian's time, and makes vivid the pages of Tertullian's *De Fuga in Persecutione*, that our readers will thank us for a rather lengthy extract.

We were often asked if concealment were not a sort of apostasy, and whether it would not be better to court death by openly declaring that they were Christians. The good dispositions evinced by these generous souls afforded us great consolation ; and the time spent in instructing and exhorting them flew by rapidly. But Nature asserted her rights, and often, overcome by fatigue, I tried to dismiss my visitors for the purpose of obtaining a few hours' sleep. 'Do not send us away,' they would entreat ; 'to-morrow I shall be brought before the judge, and probably sentenced to death. I shall never see you again !' 'It was only by means of a large bribe,' another would say, 'that I got the jailer to take off my fetters and let me come to bid farewell to my friends ; this is the last opportunity I shall ever have of speaking to you.'

Who could harden his heart against such appeals? Our conversations were prolonged late in the night. Far from being sorrowful, all present were cheerful, almost gay ; and looking at the bright countenances around us, we almost forgot the heavy storm that had broken over our infant Church. Those whose life was in greatest danger, and who could remain with us until after midnight, received the Holy Communion ; and fortified by the Bread of Heaven, they went forth bravely to their last conflict [p. 182].

One example of the sufferings of the martyrs will serve to give an idea of all.

Charles Luanga was burned to death by a slow fire, beginning with his feet. Whilst kindling the fire, his tormentor said to him : 'Now, then, let your God come and take you out of the flames.' The martyr replied calmly : 'Poor man, do you not know what you are saying? I only feel as if you were pouring water over me ; but do you beware, or the God at whom you mock will one day cast you into a fiery furnace !' He then kept silence, and bore his lingering torture without ever allowing a murmur to escape his lips.

Three of the youngest pages excited the compassion of the head executioner, who, in the course of a long life, had never had to practise such cruelties on children of such tender years. 'Only tell the King that you will not pray any more,' he said to them, 'and he will pardon you !' 'We will never leave off praying as long as we live !' was the indignant reply of the boys. They were accordingly bound and led out with the others, to the number of thirty-four, on to a hill which rises opposite to the mission-house. A quantity of dried reeds had been taken there, and of these the executioners made huge fagots, in each of which one of the victims was bound up. They were then laid on the ground, side by side, the feet of all being turned the same way. . . . The reeds were ignited at the end where the feet of the victims were, in order that their sufferings

might be more protracted, and that some might, perhaps, when the flames reached them, be prevailed upon to deny their faith. A vain hope! The martyrs' voices were heard, it is true, but only when joining in the prayers which we had taught them to recite! [p. 184.]

When the news of this persecution reached Mgr. Lavigerie, he appealed to the European powers having representatives at Zanzibar to bring pressure upon Sultan Said Burgash, as he alone had sufficient influence with the Arab traders to cause the persecution to cease. It is sad to be told that national rivalry and jealousy prevented united action. Not until Mwanga heard of Stanley's expedition for the support of Emin Pasha did he stop his cruelties. Mwanga, who had disgusted Moslems, Christians, and his own people, was deposed. The new ruler fell under the Arab influence, and became consequently hostile to the Christians. The massacres were renewed, the mission-houses sacked, and every white man banished from Uganda. The Church Missionary Society's boat took off all the Europeans and some native converts, and thus was closed that chapter in the history of Christianizing Equatorial Africa. This brings us down to November, 1888. It is impossible to say how much light Stanley's forthcoming book will shed on what happened at Uganda between November, 1888, and December, 1889, when he emerged at Zanzibar. As an introductory volume to Stanley's narrative we commend the work of M. Wauters.

Our readers must not go away with the impression that it is an attempt to forestall Stanley's own work, and that when that work comes out this one will be useless. Far from it. The reader of M. Wauters will be better prepared to understand and appreciate the work achieved by the African explorer; one work will no more supersede the other than an introductory chapter is superseded by the succeeding history. For this reason we advise all interested in the Dark Continent to procure this volume. We have given us an impartial account of the conquest of the Soudan, of Gordon's early experiences in Africa, of the forces which enabled the mahdi to add victory to victory, of Gordon's final mission, of the siege of Khartoum, of the disgraceful blundering of the Liberal Government in England, and of the fatal shortsightedness of Mr. Gladstone. All this is concisely but entertainingly told. The attempt, after Lord Wolseley's expedition, to govern the Equatorial Provinces under

Lupton Bey and Emin Bey, is briefly sketched. Times and events move so rapidly that we are apt to forget the services rendered by Lupton Bey; it is well that we should be reminded of them, for they were simply invaluable, and rendered without any flourish of trumpets or advertising. The expeditions of Dr. Junker and Casati, as well as the futile ones of Dr. Fischer and Dr. Lenz, are narrated in detail, with much valuable information relating to the principal African tribes. The country round the Lower and Upper Congo is minutely described, and the history of the departure of the relief expedition under Stanley given in detail. The remaining six chapters are taken up with the account of the salient features of Stanley's travels and adventures till he emerged at Zanzibar last December. Altogether it is a very interesting and fascinating volume. The numerous illustrations of the people, places, and incidents on the Congo add considerably to the interest; and an excellent map, by Bartholomew, of Central Africa shows the route of the Stanley expedition. It will be hard for Mr. Stanley to give us an abler *r  sum  * of the causes that led to his expedition.

One thing, however, appears very apparent. The struggle in Africa is between Islamism and Christianity. The vulnerable point of attack in Islamism is the slave trade. We are aware that it has been the fashion of late to minimize the horrors of this human traffic. No one who reads the second part of Father Clarke's work, containing the accounts of eye-witnesses of the slave traffic, but will deem it impossible to magnify its horrors. The tour which Mgr. Lavigerie made throughout Europe in his crusade against the slave trade roused European feeling against its continuation. Unfortunately the rivalries and jealousies of the European powers will prevent any effectual measures. The military occupation of Egypt by England checks the slave traffic in certain directions, but to stamp it out, a more rigorous policy is demanded. From the speeches recently made by Mr. Stanley it is evident that he favors annexation or conquest by England, notwithstanding any opposition at Berlin.

In conclusion it may be said that Mgr. Lavigerie was created Cardinal in 1882, and shortly after, Archbishop of Carthage and Metropolitan of Africa. Possessed of remarkable powers of organization, having lived a life of Apostolic zeal and self-sacrifice, courageous in defence of the Church, Mgr. Lavigerie deserves all the honors the Pope can bestow on him; with whatever

truth we know not, but his name has repeatedly been mentioned as possible successor to Leo XIII. The history of Christianity in Africa would be incomplete without an account of his labors and of the missions he organized. If we have dwelt rather lengthily on his work, it has been because we felt that it was little known by Anglican Churchmen. However much we may differ from Rome in her dealings with civilized races, we must join with the present Archbishop of Canterbury in praising her work among the heathen. We may rejoice at her conquests, and envy with an holy envy the martyrs to the Faith of the Crucified which she has trained, and join with her in the prayer that the LIGHT of the World may soon re-illumine that continent of Africa. We are at one with her in her estimate of the great obstacle, Mahometanism. In a letter full of generous mention of the Protestant missionaries in Africa, the Cardinal says, speaking of Equatorial Africa: —

At present there are but few adherents of the creed of Islam in these remote regions, — not more than two or three hundred. They are Arab merchants, — slave-dealers for the most part. Mahometanism, overthrown and dying out in Europe, is, however, making rapid and alarming progress among the native population of Africa. It is imposed upon them by force. It created provinces and kingdoms, and is said to have subdued during the last hundred years no less than 50,000,000 souls to its iron yoke. Equatorial Africa will assuredly share the fate of the surrounding countries if its heathen population are left to themselves. Now the tribes conquered by the Crescent are lost to the Cross for centuries to come. The Moslem creed is the masterpiece of Satan; for whilst satisfying to a certain extent the religious needs of the human heart, by the fragments of truth it retains, it legitimatizes the indulgence of the baser cravings of our lower nature [p. 155].

If the last reports are to be credited, Mwanga, who ordered the murder of Hannington and his party, and who so ruthlessly, at the instigation of the Moslem slave-traders, persecuted with such fury the native Christians, has himself been converted by the "White Fathers" to Christianity.

In Africa Mahomet is the Anti-CHRIST.

Lux Mundi.

1. *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation.* Edited by CHARLES GORE, M. A., Principal of Pusey House, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company. 1889.
 - (1) *Faith*, by Canon HOLLAND; (2) *The Christian Doctrine of God*, by Rev. AUBREY MOORE; (3) *The Problem of Pain: its Bearing on Faith in God*, by Rev. J. R. ILLINGWORTH; (4) *The Preparation in History for CHRIST*, by Rev. E. S. TALBOT; (5) *The Incarnation in Relation to Development*, by Rev. J. R. ILLINGWORTH; (6) *The Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma*, by Rev. R. C. MOBERLY; (7) *The Atonement*, by the Rev. and Hon. ARTHUR LYTTELTON; (8) *The HOLY SPIRIT and Inspiration*, by Rev. C. GORE; (9) *The Church*, by Rev. W. LOCK; (10) *Sacraments*, by Rev. F. PAGET; (11) *Christianity and Politics*, by Rev. W. J. H. CAMPION; (12) *Christian Ethics*, by Rev. R. L. OTTLEY.
2. *Lux Mundi*. A paper read from the chair of the English Church Union meeting at Weston-Super-Mare, Thursday, Feb. 27, 1890. By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON. Bristol: T. D. Taylor Sons, and Hawkins. 1890.
3. *Corrigenda* to the Essay on *The HOLY SPIRIT and Inspiration*. By Rev. C. GORE. 1890.
4. *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture: An Essay*. By Rev. A. C. A. HALL, of the Mission Church of S. John the Evangelist, Boston. New York: J. Pott and Company. 1890.
5. *The Worth of the Old Testament*. A Sermon preached in S. Paul's Cathedral. By H. P. LIDDON, D. D., D. C. L. London: Rivingtons. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company. 1890.

THE reception that *Lux Mundi* has met with at the hands of the press in this country reopens the vexed question as to whether reviewers and critics ever read the books they notice. One paper condemns *Lux Mundi* out and out, leaving the reader to suppose the whole book was written by Mr. Gore. A second

deems that nothing more acceptable has for a long time come in its way than *Lux Mundi*, as a defence and confirmation of the Faith. A third heads its article *Lux Mundi*, but straight-way confines its notices to Mr. Gore's essay, and to a portion of that only.

We protest against such treatment of any work. A work may be bad in some parts, yet good in others. It is the duty of the critic to discriminate between the good and bad, to praise without favor, to censure without regard of persons. If such is the duty of the critic when reviewing an ordinary book, how much more is it his duty when a book deals with the Holy Faith. We purpose in this article to deal with the twelve essays which form the book entitled *Lux Mundi*, with the other publications at the head of our article, and to make such brief comments in plain English as the limited space at our disposal will allow.

(1) *Faith.* By H. S. HOLLAND, M. A., Canon of S. Paul's. Canon Holland's mission in life, he evidently considers, is to reassure the doubting. He has taken under his charge those unfortunate beings who move in a region of painful indecision. The same thoughts that were presented in his sermons *On Behalf of Belief* are to be traced almost at every step in this essay. It is painful to say so, but the logic of this essay is very poor. We place ourselves in the frame of mind desired by the author. We approach the consideration of What is faith? why should I have faith? what should I have faith in? in the attitude of a kindly disposed doubter; and the result is that at every turn we perceive the pitifulness of the logic, and finish with the conclusion that we are no farther advanced than where we were at the start. He draws at the beginning a pathetic picture of the man who, owing to the pressure on his faith by the accomplishments of science, the aggressive claims of scientific men, and the complex civilization of the day, casts away his faith *in toto*. A faith that is troubled is distrusted, then abandoned. A feeling that he has been tricked into believing, supplants the man's faith. He becomes "bitterly sensitive to the sharp contrast between the triumphant solidity with which scientific facts bear down upon him, — certified, undeniable, substantial, — and the vague, shifty, indistinct phantom into which his conviction vanishes as soon as he attempts to observe it in itself, or draw it out for public inspection." To reassure such a man, a definition of

faith is needed. Now here comes in the weakness of Canon Holland's argument. He defines faith to be faith; in other words, to be undefinable. It can only, like love, be known by its results. To a plain, practical man it seems that a metaphysical definition of faith that shall be applicable in all things and under all circumstances, is not that which is wanted. The title of the book, *Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*, sufficiently limits the nature of the faith that is to be defined. The faith that the agnostic has lost is not faith in himself, not faith in the power of money or of knowledge, or in the American or British Constitution, or faith in ancient mythology, in Buddhism or Positivism, not even in the Bible, but in the Incarnation.

When a man tells you he does not believe, he means, and you know he means, gloss it over as he will, that he does not believe in the Incarnation. The man who believes in the Incarnation, must believe in the Bible as the only known record of the revelation of GOD to man. Faith in all religious discussions nowadays really means faith in the Incarnation. There may be further degrees of faith, when once the Incarnation is accepted as an article of faith,—faith in the mission and work of the HOLY GHOST, in the extension of the Incarnation, the Church, the Bible, and other matters. But there is no need, logically, to believe in a word of the Bible, or in the need of a Church, if the Incarnation be not believed in. If the man whom Canon Holland pictures as having abandoned his faith through the pressure of scientific facts and theories, be asked what he ceases to believe in, he will, if an honest man, say the Incarnation. The question is, then, how to bring back his faith. By faith is meant faith as a product of the intellect, and not dependent upon grace. Thus, of course, both Canon Holland and ourselves use the term for the purposes of discussion. To bring back the man's faith, it seems to us that the soundest method is to investigate the validity of the opposing claims. Before a man surrenders an estate that he has held in the family for generations, he scrutinizes the value and justice of the claims to surrender. The reverse of this has been done in this essay and in some of the following ones. Instead of examining into the claims against faith in the Incarnation, our essayist proceeds to argue upon the assumption that the Incarnation is in doubt, and that the opposing claims are all sound. Taking that ground, the writer is forced to adduce some fresh grounds for the truth of the In-

carnation; in other words, for faith itself. Here are the lines of argument he proceeds upon:—

After stating that faith is undefinable, he examines into its origin, and declares that "faith grounds itself, solely and wholly, on an inner and vital relation of the soul to its source," and proceeds to assert that at the very core of each man's being is the Divine Will.

This is all very true, and is stating what all theologians accept; but the agnostic will reply by asking for proof of the existence of a soul. Thus at the very commencement of his argument he is blocked by "no thoroughfare." The utmost that the man who has lost his faith will admit is the possibility of a future life; that is, of his having in this life a soul. Logically, therefore, the existence of the soul has to be proved before any argument can be based thereon.

If the existence of a soul be admitted, and with it an union with its source, which may be called the Divine Will, what then?

Then the next sentence which contains the next deduction is, "We stand, by the necessities of our existence, in the relationship of sons to a Father, who has poured out into us, and still pours, the vigor of His own life. This is the one basis of all faith."

We fail to see the sequence. Because man has a soul, and that soul is in union with its origin, a Divine will, why does the relationship of sonship follow? Such relationship as Father and son implies loving, watching, guiding care on the part of the Eternal Father to the eternal soul He has created. Now here again, the ultramontane evolutionist comes in with his denial of this care. The higher criticism and the advanced science say: Man may have soul,—we will not pass an opinion as to that; but man on earth works out his own destiny just like any other animal, according to the law of his development and of his environment. We find no trace of this fatherly care nor of design in the world. Canon Holland, if we understand him rightly, himself rejects the law of design as old-fashioned.¹

We pass on; and now we find abundant definitions of faith: "Faith is the active instinct of inner sonship;" "Faith is an instinct of relationship based on an inner actual fact;" "Faith is not only the recognition by man of the secret source of his

¹ "When, for instance, men see their habitual reliance on the evidence for design in Nature, which had been inherited from Paley, yield and vanish, under the review of the facts with which the theory of evolution acquaints them" [p. 6].

being, but it is itself also the condition under which the powers that issue from that source make their arrival within him;" "Faith is the attitude, the temper, of a son toward a father."

The reader will see that gradually the essayist is working toward the Incarnation, through all these progressive definitions of faith. But midway on our road to that goal we get plunged back into the shifting sand of a fresh definition.

"Faith belongs to our entire body of activities." Faith then is not "the attitude of a son toward a father," but it is that by which "we put out our life, we set to work, we exercise our faculties, we close with our opportunities, we have confidence in our environment, we respond to calls, we handle critical emergencies, we send out far abroad our experimental intelligence, we discover, we accumulate experiences, we build and plant and develop" [p. 23].

This is playing fast and loose. Though from poverty of language we cannot by different words express the different meanings of "faith," but have to use the same word for a multiplicity of meanings, a theological writer ought, however, to keep strictly within the limits of the meaning of "faith" as applied to express a certain attitude of man to the Deity. Our every-day acts of faith in our relations to the world around us are based on a very different ground than faith in a deity is. Results of experience guide us in the first case. In the other we have no experience aside from the Incarnation. If that is not assumed, we have none. Faith in its relation to the Deity, as Theodoret described it, "is a conception of things invisible in harmony with Nature." Faith presupposes a GOD, and builds upon that supposition. Reason helps faith to demonstrate that its conception is in harmony with man and this world. Faith therefore needs reason at every step. Reason produces knowledge; and all knowledge aids faith to a clearer conception and to a better presentation of that conception. But as false reasoning injures faith, producing superstition,—that is, places faith on a false foundation,—so theories are more dangerous than helpful. Faith, dealing with things it believes eternal, can afford to wait till "all things are proved," till theories become knowledge. There is much that is beautiful, many isolated passages that are full of Christian fervor, as witness the following eloquent description of the close connection of reason and faith:—

The relation, then, of reason to faith is not strange or forced or unfamiliar to us, if it is much the same as its relation to the affections, or to moral acts and intuitions. We know what to expect, what part it ought to play in such a case. As in a case of heroic moral daring or high affection, so in a matter of faith, we shall expect that reason, with its arguments and its evidences, will play all around and about it; will go before it, discussing the path to follow; will follow after it, unravelling the secret forces at work in it; will watch and analyze and learn and warn; will reconnoitre and examine and survey and discover; will justify, interpret, defend, assist. But yet, we shall expect also that the act of faith will do more than all the arguments can anticipate; that it will hold itself free from them all; that it will appeal, not to them, but to its own inherent force, for the final decision; that it will move by instinct, by spontaneity, by inspiration; that it will rush past all evidences, in some great stride; that it will brush through scruples that cannot be gainsaid, and obstacles that cannot be got over; that it will surprise, that it will outdo, that it will create; that it will bring novel forces into play, invisible, unaccountable, incalculable; that it will fly when reason walks; that it will laugh when reason trembles; that it will overleap barriers which reason deems final. As with love, so with faith, it will take in all evidences, it will listen to all proofs; but when they have done their utmost, it has yet got to begin; it itself, after all its calculations, must make the actual spring, which is the decision [p. 33].

Such flights prove the writer's faith, but logically are wonderfully inconclusive. The conclusion of the essay leaves the reader with the enunciation of the Christian truth that "Christianity is final; it can afford to be dogmatic." In other words, to put it plainly, that in CHRIST man has reached finality.

This of course is a flat contradiction to the law of evolution, though apparently Canon Holland does not see it. To sum up: While we cannot commend the logic of the essay on *Faith*, there is much in it that to some minds will be helpful and attractive. The mistake, as we have said, is at the start to assume the latest theories in science and criticism to be knowledge, and upon that assumption to attempt a reconciliation of Christian faith with such theories. To us it seems wiser to have defined faith at the outset as faith in the Incarnation; to have taken that as the one supposition faith requires, and then by reason and knowledge to have endeavored to prove the harmony of that conception with the latest facts (not theories) concerning the universe known to man.

(2) *The Christian Doctrine of GOD.* By Rev. AUBREY MOORE, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church. The talented and devout writer of this essay has passed into Paradise since this volume appeared. It is therefore doubly grateful to be able to say that this essay on *The Christian Doctrine of GOD* is not only thoroughly orthodox, but also the ablest by far of the essays in the whole volume.

At the outset Mr. Moore assumes "that the revelation of GOD in CHRIST is both true and complete." Thus we start here on what we endeavored to show was the true basis of faith,—the assumption of the Incarnation as a fact. Assuming that, all reason and knowledge are welcome, nay, are the GOD-given means to each generation to draw out for that generation the truths it needs for its healing, or, as Mr. Moore puts it, "Christianity claims each new truth as enriching our knowledge of GOD, and bringing out into greater clearness and distinctness some half-understood fragment of its own teaching."

Before dealing with the nature of GOD as revealed in Holy Writ, our essayist shows how the conception of GOD grew nobler and freer among heathen nations, and yet how religion and morality were not only divorced, but antagonistic. Judaism and Christianity, however, both require morality as well as religion, and that he who is religious cannot be so without being moral. Step by step the reasonableness of Christianity as a religion is shown. It is shown to be, moreover, not only a continuation and development of the religion of Israel, but also "a re-publication of the highest truth about GOD which had been realized hitherto."

It is a remarkable fact — one rarely brought out, and only just alluded to by Mr. Moore — that however low the Jew may fall, however degraded and sordid he often seems to us now, yet take the lowest type now anywhere to be found and compare his morality, compare his conception of the Deity, with that of a refined and enlightened Roman or Greek, and the Jew towers above the Roman or Greek. Why? Is it not that in the one case we have as a background a GOD, righteous, just, merciful, stern in the exactation of obedience, but never failing His chosen people, while, on the other hand, back of all the polish, refinement, artistic and æsthetic civilization, we have gods delighting in such deeds of immorality, theft, deception, cunning, and little-mindedness that if the least shameful of them

were committed by a man or woman they would bring disgrace and punishment on the doer? The most degraded Jew of to-day is felt to stand on a higher plane than the most fastidious Greek; the degradation of the one and the fastidiousness of the other are felt to be the accidents of position, and not the reality of the man. Mr. Moore well defines the functions of morality and religion when he says: "The function of morality is to purify the religious idea of GOD; and religion and morality are strong and true in proportion as each uses the help of the other" [p. 81].

The trouble is that man in all ages is ever seeking an ideal. The better, the nobler the man, the better, the nobler the ideal; and consequently when man sees a low standard of morality prevailing among professors of religion, he accuses religion of being the cause of the immorality. He feels, he knows, that the morality before him is low and ignoble. In disgust he turns his back on religion. He mistakes cause and effect. It is not religion that has debased morality, but low morality has debased religion. In all ages earnest men have, mistakenly, attacked religion, and endeavored to reform morality by reforming religion. The Reformation was to a varying degree such an attempt. Whenever it went beyond removing the wrappings with which a low morality had enswathed religion and wounded religion, the result has been disastrous to morality. We are, as Mr. Moore only partially points out, now passing through an ordeal as decisive as our forefathers did at the Reformation. Men's minds are now in as great a ferment as they were in the sixteenth century. The battle-ground has shifted. It is not Rome we have to fear, or false views of religion, so much as the false views of morality engendered by the excesses during that period succeeding the Reformation, which has aptly been called the Deformation.

The cry is that we intellectually have outgrown the Christian Faith. Here comes, to our mind, the best part of Mr. Moore's admirable essay, where he points out that, practically, pantheism is adopted as "a middle term between religion and philosophy."

But the remarkable thing is that in numberless attempts to attack, or defend, or find a substitute for theism, the Christian or Trinitarian teaching about God rarely appears upon the scene. Devout Christians have come to think of the doctrine of the Trinity, if not exactly as a distinct revelation, yet as a doctrine necessary for holding the Divinity of CHRIST

without sacrificing the unity of God. Ordinary people take it for granted that Trinitarianism is a sort of extra demand made on Christian faith, and that the battle must really be fought out on the Unitarian basis. If Unitarian theism can be defended, it will then be possible to go further and accept the doctrine of the Trinity. It is natural that when Christians take this ground, those who have ceased to be Christians suppose that though Christianity is no longer tenable, they may still cling to 'theism,' and even perhaps, under cover of that nebulous term, make an alliance, not only with Jews and Mohammedans, but with at least the more religious representatives of pantheism. It is only our languid interest in speculation or a philistine dislike of metaphysics that makes such an unintelligent view possible. Unitarianism said its last word in the pre-Christian and early Christian period; and it failed, as it fails now, to save religion, except at the cost of reason. So far from the doctrine of the Trinity being, in Mr. Gladstone's unfortunate phrase, 'the scaffolding of a purer theism,' non-Christian monotheism was the 'scaffolding' through which already the outlines of the future building might be seen. For the modern world, the Christian doctrine of God remains as the only safeguard in reason for a permanent theistic belief [p. 98].

Now comes in these latter days Science, "pushing the deist's GOD farther and farther away; and at the moment when it seemed as if He would be thrust out altogether, Darwinism appeared, and under the disguise of a foe, did the work of a friend. . . . Either GOD is everywhere present in Nature, or He is nowhere." Thus we are forced back logically into the immanence of GOD in Nature, which is a corollary of the Incarnation.

(3) *The Problem of Pain : Its Bearing on Faith in GOD.* By Rev. J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M. A. Dealing only with the problem of pain, and not of evil, Mr. Illingworth has an easy task before him to prove that pain is purifying, ennobling, and preventive of evil. He examines the question of animal pain, and naturally comes to the conclusion that we know too little of animal organization to decide the degree of pain animals suffer. "We decline to arraign our CREATOR for a deed which we have not even the means of knowing that He has done." As man is constituted, pain is a necessity of his being, since without pain there could be no pleasure, and without pain or pleasure man would be an automaton. In proportion as man rises in nobility of character, just in the same proportion does he feel the absolute necessity of pain for his own self. Vengeance is a punishment which is admitted "as a necessity for the social development

of barbarous races." Vengeance is punishment by another. The highest type of man, as Mr. Illingworth rightly points out, before he can win back his self-respect, must endure interior bodily shame, which is a self-punishment.

The harder problem of why the Sinless One should have suffered, is but glanced at; yet here lies the real objection that human reason and human sense of justice makes to Christianity. It acknowledges the obvious necessity of pain as the punishment for the infraction of laws; but it cannot accept the logic or the justice of the sufferings of Innocence. The line of argument of the essayist is, that as we all live in death, that as all our advance in comfort, well-being, art, science, and government is only at the cost of the pain of fellow-sufferers, at the cost of "broken hearts, wearied brains, and noble lives laid down," so the Perfect Man must present the climax and complete expression of the process to which we owe the entire evolution of our race. "How should their CREATOR draw all men unto Him, but through the instrumentality of His own great law of sacrifice?"

There is one passage to which we must take decided exception. It is this :—

Now, without committing ourselves to the statement that suffering was introduced into the world by sin, which is not a Christian dogma, though it is often thought to be so, etc. [p. 117].

By sin, sorrow entered the world, is certainly the teaching of the third chapter of Genesis, read it how we will, and so S. Paul understood it when he said: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."

Evil does not come from GOD, is a Christian dogma; but that suffering is a result from sin is equally a Christian dogma, and we regret to see any such rash statement as the above made in an otherwise innocuous essay.

(4) *The Preparation in History for CHRIST.* By the Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. The late Warden of Keble brings out in this essay the old truths of how the world was prepared for the coming of the MESSIAH in the "fulness of time." There is nothing new in what the essayist says, though he says it with much force and elegance, nor is there any fault to be found with the manner of presentation of these old truths.

First, we are shown how the heathen world was shaped so as to prepare the ground for the reception of the Divine seed; how Rome brought and consolidated into one unity the vast undisciplined forces which lay behind it in what we now call Europe,—a unity which found expression in the desire to bring all the local and national gods of the Empire under one roof, that of the Pantheon; then how Greece brought about a higher unity, the unity of intellect, and by her philosophies prepared men's minds in Europe and in Asia for the wisdom from on high.

Secondly, we have the influence of the Jews upon both Roman and Greek thought,—how at the era preceding the Incarnation the Jews were ubiquitous, disliked for their tenacity to their own customs and religion, yet by that very *imperium in imperio* arresting attention wherever they settled, influencing not only the keen intellects of philosophers by their proclamation of One GOD, LORD of All, but what is stranger still, bringing over to their ways and their religion multitudes of women of all classes, of the highest as well as of the lowest. Knit together by their ties of religion and race, not only where they settled, but with one another wherever they were, so that wherever one Jew was, there was the home for another, with Jerusalem as the centre of the network, we have thus a worldwide ramification proceeding from the Sacred City. Add to this that the Jew proselyted, but never apostatized. Every town had its Jewry; every Jewry was an outpost of monotheism,—a monotheism, however, which unceasingly proclaimed that while besides its GOD there was no other GOD, yet that they were the chosen people of that one and only GOD, who, however He might for their good afflict them, would yet in the "fulness of time" redeem His people and bless all nations of the earth in them.

The history of the Jewish nation itself is thus shown to be, as is readily admitted by every student of the Old Testament, a progressive preparation for that Blessed Visitation. Here incidentally may be shown the beneficence of pain. The very punishment of the Jewish race served to redeem it. The captivities and dispersions were punishments to the men of their day; we who look back from the vantage-point of centuries see that the captivities and dispersions prepared the way for the Blessing. The introduction of the Jew into Roman and Greek thought was essential for the reception of the Gospel.

(5) *The Incarnation in Relation to Development.* By Rev. J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M. A. The essayist here endeavors to restate the full doctrine of the Incarnation as presented by the Fathers. He rightly points out that Protestantism has lost complete touch of this fundamental doctrine. The Early Church thought of CHRIST; the foreign reformers and all Protestants think of man. The first was spiritual, the second earthly; hence the downward grade in the latter. At the outset of the chapter Mr. Illingworth asserts that Christian thinkers have accepted the theory of evolution. This is both true and untrue. As an unqualified statement it is untrue; it is true only when qualified. Christian thinkers accept a theory of evolution, but not the theory as propounded by some. One of the glaring faults of this volume is the lack of definition of the term "evolution." Mr. Illingworth is himself an example of the many who qualify at every turn the term "evolution." After starting out by saying that Christian thinkers accept evolution, he then proceeds to show how not only they, but other thinkers, do not accept it, and finally comes to the conclusion that evolution does not upset the evidence for design in Nature, but on the contrary, "the result of all the sifting controversy has been to place the evidence for design in Nature on a stronger base than ever" [p. 191]. A previous essayist, Canon Holland, appears, as we have shown, to have surrendered completely this very law of design [p. 6].

Mr. Illingworth, like the previous essayist, rightly estimates the present tendency of un-Christian belief to be toward pantheism. It is a curious commentary on Protestantism that its evolutionary development has been pantheism. That superficial scientific thought leads equally to pantheism is an equally remarkable development. The cure for Protestantism is the doctrine of the extension of the Incarnation; the cure for superficial science, the doctrine of the Divine Immanence resulting from the Incarnation. The attitude of Mr. Illingworth on the question as to the origin of man is suspense of judgment. He points out, however, that if man's origin be proved, which it has not yet been, to be from, say, a protoplasm, the answer of theology will be still: The Divine Immanence lies back of the protoplasm and is in every phase of creative energy. The essayist then passes on to examine the Immanence of the Divine Logos in the human reason, dealing *seriatim* with

modern objections, or rather with modern restatements of objections as old as the second century. In many ways Mr. Illingworth skilfully turns the table on the modern unbeliever. By the very law of evolution which he appeals to, he proves that Christianity must have had an organism. In other words, it must have "individuality, originality, personal identity." If so, aspirations cannot create a religion. The aspirations of heathendom could not have created Christianity, as evolutionists first asserted was the case. A religion needs a founder, and therefore the Christian religion now is admitted by its opponents to have been founded by JESUS CHRIST. Again, it has been said by the same opponents that Christianity was wrongly interpreted, owing to the malign influence of the dying philosophies of Greece. The Church admits the influence, but denies the malignity. The Church teaches that the Eternal Logos influenced man before the Incarnation to prepare for that event and for the Church that was to be founded on it. Hence Justin Martyr declared: "We have been taught that CHRIST is the first-born of GOD, and we have declared above that He is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers, and those who lived according to the Word ($\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\circ\gamma\circ\nu$) are Christians, even though they have been thought Atheists" [Ap. i. 46]. And again, "The notion that religion was the invention of interested priest-craft has vanished, like many other eighteenth-century fictions, before nineteenth-century science" [p. 203]. How comforting! yet we fear our essayist is here over-sanguine. Those who see in evolution a death-blow to religion, are the children of those who saw in priests the inventors of the same religion. It is an evolution from the same antagonism. When our essayist again declares that "individuals elevate, masses degrade, religion," he is declaring a truth ever deemed axiomatic by the Church, but one scorned by the democracy of disbelief. We have said enough to show the drift of Mr. Illingworth's argument. The real moral of his essay is, "Go to the Fathers."

(6) *The Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma.* By the Rev. R. C. MOBERLY, M. A., sometime Senior Student of Christ Church. Mr. Moberly at the very beginning takes this sound position (one antagonistic to that of other essayists), that religious knowledge is *not* a process of evolution simply, and that if such

were the case, "the whole fact of historical Christianity must first be displaced." He overthrows the claim that dogma fetters the intellect by asking, Does truth fetter the intellect? He might have pushed his argument farther, by showing that as every ascertained truth opens new vistas to the human intellect, so the dogmas of the Church have widened, not narrowed man's intellect. Before the Incarnation thought was cribbed, cabined, and confined; since, it has advanced by leaps and bounds. Thought previously had no settled foundation whence to advance. The central dogma of the Incarnation afforded the necessary foundation. It was the long-sought Archimedean lever. The Church nowhere forbids examination, any more than true Science does, of any of its truths; but Church and Science alike require specially trained and well-balanced intellects as a prerequisite for such examination. To say that each man is to verify the dogmas of the Christian religion for himself before he proceeds to accept them, is to ask of man what no branch of science or worldly wisdom ever yet has done. As well might we ask a patient to verify for himself the foundations upon which medical science rests, or the traveller by train to verify the complex truths upon which his safe transit to his destination depend. The following passage is well put, and we quote it as a summary of Mr. Moberly's argument in the first half of the essay:—

Scientific principles are in their very nature fragments of a truth which is practically infinite. But the Christian Creed, if true at all, cannot possibly be a fragment of truth; for the Christian Creed does not simply enunciate so many abstract principles of natural or supernatural life or governance. It introduces us straight to a supreme Person, Himself the beginning and end, the author and upholder of all. Such a doctrine may be false, but it cannot be a fragment [p. 228].

Mr. Moberly again makes a good point when he claims that religion affects the whole man (heart, imagination, conscience, as well as intelligence), while other branches of knowledge require only a part of man, his intelligence. When the religious man is called upon to defend religion, he makes a concession unequalled by any other defender when he confines himself simply to historical or logical arguments. The truths combined in the Creed have passed through three stages in their presentment to man: (1) The leading up to CHRIST; (2) The life of CHRIST; (3) The results since CHRIST's life, which correspond to (1),—belief

in GOD carrying with it aspiration after righteousness, and conviction of sin; (3) The establishment of the Christian Church and the articulation of her belief. The first and the third can be tested historically; but the second, which is the pivotal fact, must first be established in the Christian sense. If it cannot, the first is delusive and the third falsehood. The life of CHRIST centres in one point, His Incarnation. If that be true, then the rest may be true. If false, then the rest is false, absolutely false. Now, the apostles took the Resurrection as the proof of the Incarnation. The Resurrection is therefore the keystone to the position. The decisions of councils may be right or may be wrong; such questions are irrelevant until the fact upon which they are all based be accepted as true or rejected as false. Every decision of the Church is but a corollary from the Incarnation. This, which to every intelligent man appears to need no argument, is yet forgotten by the adversaries of Christianity, or to speak more truly, they, perhaps to confuse untrained defenders of the Faith, attack the definitions of the Faith rather than the Faith itself. To prove the proposition self-evident to every logician, that the Incarnation is thus the basis of dogma, Mr. Moberly argues at what we conceive to be undue length.

(7) *The Atonement.* By the Rev. and Hon. ARTHUR LYTTELTON, M. A., Master of Selwyn College. A superficial reading of this essay is the only way by which we can account for certain critics declaring it to be the best essay in the volume,—to be thoroughly orthodox. It is written in a smooth, fluent, interesting style. Great and due stress is laid upon the obedience of CHRIST, and how through obedience He won back what the human race had lost by disobedience. In that part of the essay where the Divine justice is treated of, the effect of obedience unto the end is well brought out as bringing into prominence punishment as the result of sin, and therefore as its penalty. Righteousness needed vindicating; and the obedience unto death not only vindicated it, but gave to the human race the first abiding consciousness of sin it ever had. Thus much we can say in praise of this essay, but we now come to the most serious blot we have yet found in the book. We have seen that Mr. Illingworth is not sound on the question of pain as the result of sin; but his words are capable, we believe, of a lenient construction.

A hastily written sentence which does not affect the argument, and which could be struck out bodily from the context, may be unfortunate, but may be pardoned in a work which does not aim at being profound. It is a very different matter when our LORD is declared to have been capable of sin. This is what Mr. Lyttelton actually declares was the case. Speaking of our LORD'S passion, he says,—

At every moment of the passion there might have been a refusal to undergo the shame and the torture of body and spirit. At any stage during the long struggle, He might have ended it all by a single acquiescence in evil, a single submission to the law of unrighteousness [p. 289].

This is nothing else than teaching the peccability of OUR LORD.

The great fault of this essay is the attempt to over-define what after all must ever be a great mystery, and beyond the powers of definition. The moment we seek to bring these transcendent mysteries to the level of popular understanding, then we carnalize the spiritual, and in the sad process almost necessarily fall into unorthodox expositions of the Faith, if we do not even teach heresy. The over-definitions of the schoolmen, which have borne such a bad fruit in the Roman Church, the Gorean school of philosophy would be the first to condemn, yet they are erring in the same manner. Levelling the hill of faith is not the way to ascend it.

(8) *The HOLY SPIRIT and Inspiration.* By the Rev. C. GORE, M.A., Principal of Pusey House.

Corrigenda.

The author of the essay, *The HOLY SPIRIT and Inspiration*, wishes to take his earliest opportunity of preventing further misconception of his meaning on one important point by the explanatory alteration of the following sentences:—

P. 359, l. 25. *For* “To argue ‘*ad hominem*,’ to reason with men on their premises, was, in fact, a part of our LORD's method,” *substitute*, “It was, in fact, part of our LORD's method to lead men, by questioning them, to cross-examine their own principles, without at the time suggesting any positive conclusion at all.”

P. 360, l. 11. *For* “He shows no signs at all of transcending the science of His age. Equally he shows no signs of transcending the history of His age. He does not reveal His eternity by statements as to

what had happened in the past, or was to happen in the future, outside the ken of existing history. His true GODHEAD is shown in His attitude towards men and things about Him, in His moral and spiritual claims, in His expressed relation to GOD, not in any miraculous exemptions of Himself from the conditions of natural knowledge in its own proper province," *substitute*, "He willed to restrain the beams of Deity so as to observe the limits of the science and historical knowledge of His age. He does not reveal His eternity by statements as to what had happened in the past or was to happen in the future outside the ken of existing history. He chose to reveal His true GODHEAD by His attitude towards men and things about Him, in His moral and spiritual claims, in His expressed relation to GOD, not by any miraculous exemptions of Himself from the conditions of natural knowledge in its own proper province."

We now come to the essay which has called forth protests on every side, and which has caused the indiscriminate condemnation of the whole volume. Yet there is much that is excellent in this essay,— much that betokens a deep faith and a reverential spirit. The work and obedience of our Blessed LORD is well shown as being the perfect fruit of the HOLY SPIRIT. In Him the SPIRIT found no limitation through sin and disobedience to Its power. The work of the HOLY SPIRIT is demonstrated as possessing four characteristic notes: (1) Social; (2) Nourishing individuality; (3) Consecrating the whole of nature; (4) Gradual in its method. These four notes are elucidated with much brilliancy of thought and by constant appeal to the Fathers. There is indeed much that is invaluable in this and in some of the other essays, in the way in which it is shown that what this age rather boastfully claims as difficulties, owing to its advanced thinking, are no new difficulties,— that men of equal intellectual penetration — may we say of greater? — were found in the ranks of the heretics of old, and were met on equally high intellectual ground by such men as Ignatius, Irenaeus, Gregory of Nazianzus, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. Athanasius, and others. The work of the HOLY GHOST in the Church is finely summed up in the words of S. Augustine, which may indeed be taken as the text of the whole of the first part of this essay.

God loves us not as we are, but as we are becoming.— *De Trinit.* i. 10, 21.

The teaching of the Fathers is also well summarized in the following words, in themselves summarizing the operation of the HOLY GHOST in the Church:—

He is the consecrator of every sacrament, and the substance of His own sacramental gifts. The services of ordained men indeed are required for the administration of sacraments, but as ministers simply of a power higher than themselves, of a Personal Spirit who is indeed invoked by their ministry, and pledges Himself to respond to their invocations, but never subjects Himself to their power [p. 333].

The second part of the essay deals with the GODHEAD of the HOLY SPIRIT. It is a brief and imperfect summary of theology on the subject, and we deem it better not to have dealt with so important a matter under a mere heading. Under the third heading we come to the Inspiration of Holy Writ. Here we have to pick our steps narrowly. Much is good; much is bad. We pass over the rather questionable statement that "all that is necessary for faith in CHRIST is to be found in the moral dispositions which predispose to belief" [p. 340]. We accept the statement that "Christianity brings with it indeed a doctrine of the inspiration of Holy Scriptures, but is not based upon it" [p. 341], as the effect of the co-operation of the HOLY GHOST in the Incarnation. We utterly reject as the general idea of inspiration that a nation's vocation is expressed by its poets; for example, that the Roman race is interpreted by Virgil, or the Greek by Æschylus. We admit that each race has a special vocation. Athanasius was right when he declared that the Jewish nation was "the sacred school for all the world of the knowledge of GOD and of the spiritual life." The vocation of the Roman nation was to produce order and discipline, and by that order and discipline to bring barbaric nations in touch with Rome, so that the Christian religion might have a centre whence to radiate over Europe. The best interpreter of the Roman nation is Cæsar, not Virgil. The Greek nation found its vocation in preparing the intellect and the artistic faculties first to receive the deep truths of the Eternal Logos and of the Immanence of the SON in Creation, and then to defend those truths by the most powerful of intellectual minds the world has yet produced. Christian Rome had her vocation in dominating over masses of barbaric nations, and by a supreme centralization compelling obedience. She was the heiress of Pagan Rome. England's vocation has been not in centralization, not in domination, but in diffusiveness, and as heiress of Greek thought (revived at the Reformation) in taking the highest ground for obedience to CHRIST, its intellectual reasonableness. First, her vast popu-

lation, then her boundless colonies to support that unexampled increase of population, were all given to her (we devoutly but strongly believe) that she may spread a Christianity not based on private interpretation, but on the Ancient and Primitive Fathers.

Not for naught has the vocation been granted to America to bring the scattered nations of the earth into the unity of the English tongue. To the loyal Christian it seems that America's vocation is thus to bring about the unity of GOD's people into CHRIST'S Catholic Church; GOD grant it!

Each nation has had, each nation has, each nation will have, its vocation; and each vocation, consciously or unconsciously, is but the furtherance of the interests of CHRIST'S Church. All that we admit, we enforce, we inculcate; but we deny with equal earnestness that the term "inspiration" can be given, without derogation to its Christian meaning, to the utterances of any one man, however gifted with genius. We deny the term "inspired" to the writings of Virgil, Horace, Cæsar, or Marcus Aurelius, Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, or Plato just as much as we do to Gower, Chaucer, Shakespeare, or Milton, or looking abroad, to Corneille, Molière, Voltaire, Richter, Goethe, Dante, Mencius, or Confucius. There is a "movement of the HOLY SPIRIT" with every writer,—yes, because the SPIRIT strives with and moves every man. But as a theological term such men were not "inspired." In a theological book terms cannot be played fast and loose with. In ordinary language we may say, "Such a man was inspired to do that noble action;" but it would be subversive of all reasoning on any subject if words were one minute taken in their technical sense, and in another in their every-day meaning. The whole of page 342 is theologically unsound. It grants to the inspiration of the Jews the same nature as the inspiration of other races, but excelling in degree. Thus we have on page 343: "The poet is a poet, the philosopher a philosopher, the historian an historian, each with his own idiosyncrasies, ways, and methods, to be interpreted each by the laws of his own literature." True, but not true. The essayist here speaks of the individual writers in Holy Writ. The conditions affecting an interpretation are not the same, since the poet, philosopher, historian are *inspired* poets, philosophers, historians. Again, we are told on the same page that "with the growth of our knowledge about the kinds and sequences of human literature, shall we know more and more about the literature of the Jews which the HOLY SPIRIT

inspired." True, but false as to the implied deduction. Our increased knowledge of literature will enable us to understand more and more of the Jewish literature, but not more and more of the inspired Jewish literature. We shall know more and more of the *corpus vile* into which the HOLY GHOST breathed, but not more of that mysterious inbreathing. The distinction is fine, but as real as the fine distinction which separates the solid mass of the globe from the circumambient air. Our essayist is right (on p. 352) in claiming that the Hebrews must have been acquainted with writing before the Exodus; but why not have pushed the ground still farther back? Modern research has discovered the cylinders deposited at the foundation of Ur of the Chaldees (Abraham's Ur), which was founded at least B. C. 2000. Writing was therefore known in Abraham's time.¹

Mr. Gore accepts with too easy a credulity the results of what he terms "historical criticism." He does so evidently because he is jealous for his law of evolution. He wants to trace everything back to a small beginning. Hence he prefers to believe that Moses established a ceremonial "germ" [p. 353], and that this was afterward developed into the priestly code. If this was so, an honest man would ask, why, then, is not this elaborate priestly code (promulgated, we presume, Mr. Gore means, in Ezra's time) given in its due sequence in the Old Testament. Mr. Gore takes care to assure us that there was no "wilful deception" or "pious fraud," but an honest man of the world will characterize such an interpolation as dishonest, as wilful deception, and as a fraud — how we despise the term "pious fraud;" how can fraud and piety go together? To put the matter quite plainly, suppose Sir Archibald Alison had edited an edition of Clarendon's "History of the Great Rebellion" and had "unconsciously idealized history" (this is Mr. Gore's term), — reading back into past records development which was really later, — what would the literary world say of Sir Archibald Alison? Would critics deem it a defence from Sir Archibald's friends if they urged that he was only "a pious fraud"?

We admit so much of Mr. Gore's argument as pure, that a fact may be presented in many a form, — historical, dramatic, poetic, allegorical; but we do not admit what he passes over, that the form is immaterial to the understanding of the fact.

¹ See the excellent life of *Abraham and His Times*, by Rev. W. J. Deane. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph.

The reader or hearer must perceive the nature of the form in which the fact is clothed, else how shall he judge of the fact? To make the matter clearer, it is a fact that Richard III. reigned in England. Now, History may deal with that fact, so has Shakespeare in his drama, so has Bulwer-Lytton in his novel (the modern allegory), so has Millais in his picture. Now, is it immaterial through what medium we view the fact of Richard's reign? The answer is that the form colors the fact. Applying this to the Bible, it is material, it is, we conceive, of the essence of truth, that the reader or hearer should be guarded against receiving history as an allegory, or an allegory as history. The way in which a man looks at truth is the truth to him.

Mr. Gore is perfectly orthodox in saying that the method of inspiration is an open question, and that the Church has left it so. None the less, inspiration is there. The method of the operation of the HOLY SPIRIT is *nowhere* laid down, either in the Creation of the Universe, the Creation of Man, the Incarnation, the Abiding Presence in the Church, in the Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances, yet none the less does the Church unfalteringly assert the operation of the HOLY GHOST in each of the above mysteries. She emphatically teaches that the inspiration under which men wrote, recorded, and collected the Scriptures was unique in the history of literature, and that inspiration was therefore not general, but particular, so as to separate by a clear-cut line Holy Scripture from any other scripture.

Mr. Gore has evidently surrendered to "modern historical criticism." It is his anxiety not to run counter to that, that makes him so easily run counter to Church tradition. He boldly states his belief "that the modern development of historical criticism is reaching results as sure, where it is fairly used, as scientific inquiry" [p. 357]. This is a very sweeping assertion, and one based on the minima of facts. Historical criticism is as full of failures as any department of human thought. A reaction against it is even now in the air. Next century will witness, we believe, the disappearance of many of the data which are now paraded as infallible. Historical criticism—of course we use the term in the same restricted sense Mr. Gore does—has not been peculiarly successful even in English history, and when we come to Biblical history it has

been a dead failure. Baur, Strauss, and others criticised historically the New Testament; their results were applauded, and taken as truer than Gospel, but now even their own disciples have relegated these vaunted results to the limbo of intellectual rubbish. The author of *Supernatural Religion* voiced the historical critics in England, and loftily condemned the "ecclesiastical theory," and took as the subject of their scalpel Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Lightfoot replied, maintaining the ecclesiastical theory. As far as the *Diatessaron* of Tatian was concerned, it was a battle in the clouds, since the *Diatessaron* was not discovered. Singularly enough, the *Diatessaron* was afterward discovered; and with that discovery it became possible to decide which party had truth on its side,— "historical criticism" or the "ecclesiastical theory." We all know the result,— how ecclesiastical theory came out triumphant, and the critics had to abandon their whole line. Historical critics were sanguine that the spade of the archæologist would condemn Orthodox Biblical criticism, and were enthusiastic in their praises of the searchers when the first few spadefuls appeared to confirm their views. They are remarkably silent now. The deeper the archæologist delves, the more the Biblical narrative is confirmed. The Church therefore can afford to wait. When theories become facts, she can examine them in the light of the Divine wisdom and set them in the proper place of her Divine economy. Meanwhile, her children need not be rushing out of her citadel to fraternize with every foe, on the plea of prudence, nor on the plea of courage to waste her strength in useless engagements. Keep your head cool and your powder dry, is as useful a maxim to the soldier of the Church as to the soldier of the State.

The very last part of Mr. Gore's essay is the one in which he deals with the amount of credence that is to be placed on our LORD'S references to the Old Testament. The essayist feels that it is a crucial test question. If the historical criticism is right, if the ecclesiastical theory is wrong, then JESUS CHRIST was wrong. Mr. Gore is not daunted by this deduction, but prepares to meet the issue. In examining Mr. Gore's explanation, we ask our readers to read those pages as corrected by Mr. Gore. The very corrections are an admission that the essayist had penned his sentences on so momentous an issue without care and with undue haste. A fluent pen is not always

an advantage. However, we will not go back on the original sentences, but take them as amended. How, then, does Mr. Gore endeavor to square the Divine Rule to his theory? He admits that our LORD "does indeed indorse with the utmost emphasis the Jewish view of their own history," but questions "that our LORD'S words foreclose certain critical positions as to the character of Old Testament literature." Briefly put, he questions as to whether our LORD, by His references to the Old Testament, passed on the personality of Jonah or of the reality of the incident of Jonah and the whale, on the reality of the flood, on the personality of Noah, and on the Davidic authorship of Psalm cx. It is startling to the humble Christian to have our LORD Himself called in question, for it amounts to this, nothing more nor less. Our LORD in the references He made to these three passages in the Old Testament most certainly used language the intent of which was to confirm His listeners in the belief that there had been a real flood, a real Noah, a real Jonah, a real whale, and that it was David and none other that in spirit called Him LORD. If historical criticism, which we are told is as sure in its results as science, is true, then only two alternatives are tenable in regard to our LORD'S references to Holy Writ. Either our LORD knew less than the historical critics, or He wilfully deceived the Jews in allowing them to believe what was not true.

It is perfectly true that, as the essayist says, "it is contrary to His whole method to reveal His GODHEAD by any anticipations of natural knowledge" [p. 359]; but the essayist forgets the difference between natural and spiritual knowledge. GOD has given to man the means of acquiring step by step knowledge of the natural world, since He has given to Nature certain unvarying laws. Observation and the logical processes of human reasoning must unfailingly discover the operation of these laws. But with regard to the spiritual world, man unaided can find nothing out; he needs a revelation of certain of the fundamental principles underlying GOD'S dealings with mankind. These fundamental principles will, unless a special revelation announces their cessation or supersession, be as inflexible as the laws of Nature, else they would not be fundamental, but shifting; and if shifting, one revelation of their announcement would be manifestly inadequate. One of such fundamental principles we conceive to be the permanency of all revelation.

It cannot be denied for a single moment that the Jews looked upon their Scriptures as revealing GOD's will toward them, and GOD'S actual dealings with them in the past. They looked upon that revelation of JEHOVAH as permanent. They were of course aware that they carried the treasure in earthen vessels. Scribes might err; manuscripts might perish; but to provide against both contingencies, their rules for the perpetuation of copies were of the most stringent character. We may nevertheless admit that errors of transcription have occurred; but to admit this is vastly different from admitting that such a fundamental incident in their national history as the flood has been incorrectly told,—an incident, moreover, upon which so much of their teaching for centuries had been based. This would be to run counter to the permanency of revelation. It would be to admit that a lie might be allowed to be believed for some generations only; that is, until the lie was found out. Such might be the case in literature; but the primary object of a revelation is to give a fundamental and therefore permanent law in spiritual matters, and the object of inspiration is to enable a truthful exposition of that revelation to be conveyed to man.

With regard to our LORD'S assumption of the Davidic authorship of Psalm cx., it has been pointed out by Canon Liddon [p. 7] that it proves that the scribes and Pharisees also accepted David as the author, else they, so quick to tempt our LORD, would have endeavored to set Him right. In our LORD'S time, therefore, David was considered the author; and this strengthens the "ecclesiastical theory" immensely, since it pushes back the question by nearly nineteen centuries. Another point is that our LORD was not chary of dispelling false views of Holy Writ. Over and over again He overthrew the current interpretations on passages in the Law. He, in whom there could be no guile, indignantly vindicated the correct interpretation of the Law. He who constantly asseverated that it was His mission to fulfil the Scriptures; He who came to establish and not to destroy; He who declared that He was the Way and the Truth; He who declared that He would send the SPIRIT to guide His Church in all truth,—did, if we are to follow the Gorean school of criticism, what was contrary to all His professions, for He wilfully suppressed the truth, and knowing that it was wrong, He sanctioned the past interpretation of the Jewish Church, sanc-

tioned the future interpretation of the Catholic Church, of the passages he quoted. What a mockery in that case it was to say, "Search the Scriptures"!

Mr. Gore's corrigenda have not in our opinion made his position any sounder. There is only one correction that he can make, and that is to re-write the whole of the third part of his essay, and to omit entirely pp. 358 to 362.

This will be the most appropriate place to make a few remarks on the publications by the Venerable Archdeacon of Taunton, Father Hall, and Canon Liddon; and the more so that it is with this essay solely that they deal.

Archdeacon Denison's position is perfectly simple, and he defends it with his characteristic bluntness, which in this age of verbiage and compromise is refreshing. He declares the sum of his position to be that our LORD, having made "Holy Scripture" *His own*, has "anticipated and foreclosed" every manner of questioning touching the "genuineness," the "authenticity," and therein the "authority," of the several books to "Holy Scripture" [p. ii.].

The Archdeacon then completely contravenes Mr. Gore's position as taken up in the very pages 358-362 which we have ourselves condemned. He further denies that it is the duty of sons of the Catholic Church to shift the line of defence of the faith intrusted to them [p. 4], which contradicts the very object of the whole volume as defined by Mr. Gore in his preface to *Lux Mundi*.

The essay by Father Hall is disappointing and not worthy of the reverend father's reputation, though there are some good points here and there in it, as when he pleads with Christians to be calm, to listen patiently, and to reply with gentleness to all critics, instead of exclaiming excitedly that the Faith is in jeopardy at every fresh attack. He rightly points out that such an attitude encourages attack, since it persuades the attackers that they are really making breaches in the walls of Zion. "In patience possess ye your souls" are Divine words all believers should lay well to heart.

Dr. Liddon elaborates the view taken by Archdeacon Denison in one of those matchless sermons of his. He justly points out that, by the adoption of Mr. Gore's theories, the inner mystical meaning of all Holy Writ, as illustrated by our LORD's references to it, would have to be abandoned. It is one of the marks of

Divine inspiration that writings should not only subserve present need, but owing to that very inner kernel of spirituality, serve all subsequent generations. Dr. Liddon ends with a beautiful comparison of Holy Writ to the cathedral in which the sermon was preached. We strongly urge all readers of *Lux Mundi* to possess themselves of this sermon as a correction of the faulty theology which disfigures the essays by Messrs. Gore and Lyttelton.

(9) *The Church.* By the Rev. W. LOCK, M. A. Sub-Warden of Keble. We have here an excellent philosophical disquisition on the Church. It is orthodox throughout, and brings out by apt¹ illustrations the greatness and the enduring strength of the Church and the need of humanity of the Church. If the essay is read as a theological treatise, it will be disappointing, as not being emphatic enough; but read as a philosophical vindication of the Catholic Church, it is invaluable. It will not, we suppose, convert outsiders, but it will, we are convinced, widen the horizon of many a thoughtful Churchman; it will enable him to realize a little of the depth and breadth and height of the Catholic Church. We should have liked a little fuller treatment of how the Catholic Church alone is the heiress of all thought, and how in the Catholic Church alone intellectual thought is free. We should have liked to see worked, even in the rough, how the polity of nations has been moulded by the HOLY GHOST since the Ascension, so that all nations have been made to advance the interests of the Catholic Church. Many grand thoughts are given us in the essay, for which we are thankful; but the grandest thought of all, that the life of every human being in the world, without exception, is turned by an over-ruling Providence to account on behalf of the Holy Catholic Church, is not even touched upon, and yet it is worthy of the deepest philosophical treatment. The law of the existence of the Church is like the law of gravitation: every soul is drawn unconsciously to a central attraction through opposing forces.

(10) *Sacraments.* By the Rev. F. PAGET, D. D., Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology. We have here a metaphysical treatise on the Sacraments. It shows what is the very *a b c* of the Christian life, — that GOD deals with

¹ See the apt use of Milligan's declaration that "sacerdotalism, priestliness, is the prime element of her being" [p. 39].

man through man, and with the soul through the body. This is the sum and substance of the essay. It is treated in an orthodox manner; and while it may remove theoretical objections to the principle upon which all sacraments are based, it will not, we conceive, be of much practical value to the Christian.

(11) *Christianity and Politics.* By the Rev. W. J. H. CAMPION, M. A., Tutor of Keble College. The object of this essay is to show the true relation of the Church to politics and secular life. The essayist shows clearly that the sole mission of the Church is not to gather up from age to age all that is noblest and best in each age, that such is not her *raison d'être*, but rather to give life to each succeeding age. She is not the crown and blossom of secularism, but the very tap-root and source of life to all human relationships. She is not to hold aloof from secular life, else secular life would become utterly bad. She is to infuse her life in it; she is to be in the world as leaven in the dough, to vivify it, as the sap in the tree, to afford unseen life. In this, as in the preceding essay, and indeed in all these essays, the Church is always used in the orthodox sense, and never as a conglomeration of self-styled believers in CHRIST. The Church is, as this essayist describes her, "that solid, highly articulated, permanent core of Christendom," having its creed, sacraments, traditional liturgies, and organized ministry,—in other words, the National branch of the Church Catholic. Mr. Campion proceeds to point out in what consists the sacredness of the State, and its claims to obedience. He rightly shows that the Church has never spoken *ex cathedra* on the mode of government; that she enjoins obedience to all constituted authority, so long as that authority does not exact the committal of impious or immoral acts. He places in its true light the fundamental difference there is between morality as derived solely from the efforts of the State, and morality derived from the efforts of the Church. The morality flowing from the State is ever shifting, because it has no fixed standard by which it can be judged. Each age, each government, has its own temporary definitions of morality. With the Church it is different. She has a standard by which all morality in every age and under every government is judged, even the standard of the life of the Man CHRIST JESUS. The permanency of this standard therefore gives the Church an advantage, in claiming for it an authority

over the shifting "moral products of one nation or one age" [p. 445]. Mr. Campion shows how the policy of the Carolinian divines in regard to the connection of the Church and State was not only bad, but what is worse, contrary to the whole tradition, both of the National Church and of the whole Catholic Church. The pros and cons of disestablishment in England are temperately dealt with, and incidentally it is pointed out that the Church has never expressed an opinion on the tenure of land or property,— all that she has done is to teach individuals the right use of what property they have under their control, be that property land, money, or labor.

We conclude with Mr. Campion's aphoristic maxim, which centuries of experience have indorsed, and from the opposition to which we are suffering so terribly in this continent.

"It is not too much but too little Christianity which destroys a State" [p. 463].

(12) *Christian Ethics.* By the Rev. R. L. OTTLEY, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon. On the broad field of ethics the natural man is confronted with the question, "*Why* must I do right?" and the Christian with the question, "*How* am I to do right?" In the difference of the questions lies the whole path travelled by man between so-called natural religion and Christianity. Before man in one case can do right, he has first to battle with the vexed question presenting itself on almost every occasion, as to what call there is in him to do right. His education in morality is therefore never progressive. In the other case, man always assumes that it is his duty to do what is right; what troubles him is the manner of doing it. The more he does right, the greater is his experience; the greater his training, the greater his ease in doing right; so that with the earnest Christian it comes to be a habit, a second nature. Conscience is thus progressive, ever adding to its stock of knowledge of how to do right. Conscience is, as Mr. Ottley rightly puts it, an imperfect organism, requiring use and training to develop it into perfection. Sin enters into the calculation of Christian ethics, while with non-Christian ethics sin is not admitted, because not recognized.

It is an old thought put in a new and striking way when our essayist says [p. 488],—

Into the arts also, notably into architecture and music, the Christian spirit introduced the element of mystery, and found expression in them

for the idea of infinity, — an idea so alien to the Greek genius, which had even contemplated beauty, and therefore ethical Good, as something essentially limited, measurable, symmetrical, exact.

The deduction from this as to the narrow ethical range of Protestantism as exemplified in its buildings is a striking one.

In considering CHRIST as the pattern of Christian ethics, we have given us a caution, which we wish Mr. Gore had heeded in the last pages of his essay, and Mr. Lyttelton in his, that the efficacy of "that example depends on CHRIST'S being a man *unlike* other men, — unlike them in His relation to the Divine requirement, unlike them in His power of contact with the entire race" [p. 490]. In its relations to GOD, man, and self, the Christian character, as modelled after that of the Perfect ONE, is to GOD Christian wisdom, to man Christian justice, and to self Christian temperance.

The fourth part of this essay deserves attentive consideration, and ought to have been studied by the writer on *The Sacraments* as a basis for an extension of the consideration of his subject. This Part IV. deals with CHRIST *the Source of the Re-creation of Character*.

By CHRIST we are re-created in the image of GOD. It is very singular, though, how none of the essayists seem to have grasped the fundamental verity underlying what theology calls the Fall of Man. We cannot recall a single passage in any of these essays where the loss of the HOLY GHOST by man at his fall, causing his spiritual nakedness, is even alluded to, nor where the distinctive mission of the SON to man as the Restorer of the lost Gift, whereby he might be clothed in his pristine innocence, is pointed out. An imperfect realization of the mission of the HOLY GHOST is really what mars the whole volume.

It is a satisfaction to find a place granted, even if it be but scanty, to "Ascetics," as necessary for the full development of Christian ethics. Prayer, Almsgiving, and Fasting are stated to be Divinely sanctioned exercises for the threefold perfection of Christian personality, — threefold as relating to GOD, man, and self. This portion of the essay is admirable. It places Prayer, Almsgiving, and Fasting in their true light, — Prayer as no easy accomplishment, but an arduous exercise; Almsgiving, not as "charity," but as a purifying means of grace; Fasting as no joyless abstinence, but as a spiritualizing of the body. There is a strange inclination among a certain school to min-

imize the value of Sacramental ordinances, and of the priesthood, on the ground that the teaching on these subjects is not explicit enough in the Gospel. Jealous as these persons claim to be of the Gospel authority, why is it they have thrust into the background of the Christian life the Gospel ordinances of Prayer, Almsgiving, and Fasting, either entirely, or else in their true meaning as given above?

We adopt the concluding words of this valuable essay as our own: —

If the Church is a gift of God to mankind, and there be but one end of all His gifts, — namely, the restoration of His image in man, — we must believe that the fairest fruits of Christianity, and the many-sided fulness of Christlike character, can appear only in those who live loyal to the moral discipline of the Church, who are ruled by her wisdom, chastened by awe of her beauty, penetrated by her spirit. The Kingdom of God is more — infinitely more — than an ideal condition of human society ; but we know that the Kingdom, even in this limited sense of the word, will be the heritage only of a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof [p. 520].

An appendix of some half a dozen pages concludes the volume. It is on some aspects of Christian duty, and touches upon a few of the pressing moral problems of our immediate time, — on a man's personal responsibility in regard to Morality, Belief, and Imagination ; on a man's family obligations and duties as to marriage ; on a man's responsibilities to his employers and employed ; on a man's responsibilities to the Church, and how far he ought to tolerate her opponents ; lastly, on a man's responsibilities to the lower creation, opening up the question of treatment of animals, of their vivisection, and other kindred subjects.

It is a very suggestive table of contents. We hope some day to see it honestly worked out.

We have now come to the end of our self-imposed task, and have conscientiously gone through the whole of the book of essays entitled *Lux Mundi*, and endeavored honestly and fearlessly to express what we conceived to be the mind of the Church on the points touched upon, almost page by page. If our readers have followed us thus far, they will, we believe, come to the conclusion that the notices that have as yet appeared of this volume of essays have been misleading or inadequate. It is not a work that can be condemned *in toto*, much less one that can be unreservedly praised, except by critics who never

rea the books they review. We deem the Bishop of Lichfield's judgment of the book to be the very best yet pronounced. It is a book, he pronounced, which, with the exception of a few pages in one essay and a few isolated passages in others, is worthy of attentive study, and will be helpful to many minds. The Bishop further regretted the discussion of theories concerning the Faith, or our LORD'S nature, in a popular book, and suggested that it would have been better to have written such portions in Latin. It would be a capital plan, though one, we fear, not likely to be followed. Still, if it had been in this case, neither Mr. Gore nor Mr. Lyttelton would, we believe, have written as they have. They would have been forced to ponder over their words and the exact shade of meaning they intended to give them. If the day is past for writing on theology in Latin, one thing we might in reason ask of our would-be teachers,—that before they startle the Christian world by their novel or resuscitated theories, they will at least seek the judgment of men of established theological standing. Had Mr. Gore, for example, submitted his manuscript to one of these masters in Israel, he would have been saved from writing what he has had to correct, and possibly have been convinced that his whole attitude on the subject was not thoroughly sound.

We regret to see that the problem of evil and the subject of miracles are not touched upon. They ought to have been in such a work.

We also regret the tone of the preface (written by Mr. Gore). It certainly prejudices a reader against the whole book. To say, for example, that the writers have endeavored "to put the Catholic Faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems," is to condemn the book straight out; nor have the majority of the writers been guilty of such presumption. Mr. Gore has a fluent but not an accurate pen. What he ought to have said, and what we believe he really meant, was, that they had attempted "to put modern intellectual and moral problems into their relation with the Catholic Faith."

What, then, is our estimate of *Lux Mundi*? Briefly this: It is a superficial book to meet an age of superficial thought; unfortunately many a superficial thinker will deem that the Faith has been compromised, and, unable to sift the chaff from the wheat,—unable, that is, to reason profoundly,—may let go his grasp of the Faith. Another class of superficial thinkers will

condemn the essayists for their references to the Alexandrian Fathers; whereas they ought to be praised, for except in one or two instances in Mr. Gore's essay, both the references and the deductions from them have been orthodox and most helpful.

Attentive readers, able to look beyond the surface, will note that where the essayists have erred is just where they have missed touch of the Ancient Fathers; it is just on the points where they are still Protestant that they have been wrong. One thing which the volume as a whole decidedly proves, is, that a study of the Fathers is the best cure for "Scientism," as it has long been found to be for Protestantism. For this discovery we are, and ought to be, profoundly grateful. In the battle of past centuries, everything else has failed. The only form of Christianity that has conquered in the past is the Catholic. In the present contest all other forces may be eliminated from the reckoning. It is simply a duel between Nihilism and Catholicism.

One parting word to Mr. Gore on his comparison of the inspiration of great poets to that of the writers of the Bible. Apart from the nature of the inspiration, he overlooks, as Canon Liddon reminds him, that the greatest of poets are local, or at the utmost national, while the Bible transcends all boundaries, is universal.

The Bible is the Poem of Human Nature, the Epic of the Human Race.

Contemporary Literature.

Notable Books.

The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. By JACOB BURCKHARDT. Authorized translation by S. G. C. Middlemore. 1 vol. Large 8vo. xvi. 559. New York: Macmillan and Company.

THIS work is certainly one of the most notable of the many notable books that are coming so fast from the press. There are certain periods in the history of various nations which possess unusual attractions for the historical student, but which, perhaps on account of the great difficulty in properly treating them, have been to a large extent neglected, or only perfunctorily exploited by the general historian. Such a period is that generally known as the Renaissance in Italy, covering the latter part of the thirteenth century, all of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the earlier half of the sixteenth century. It was a period of storm and stress, of change and decay, of displacement of the old and the uprising of the new and modern conditions of courts and society. It was the period in which Italy, and indeed all Europe emerged from the feudal system; but while in the more northern States of Europe the downfall of the feudal system resulted in unified nations under monarchs of force and centralized power, in Italy the result was found in a number of petty republics and despoticisms, which continually changed and gave way to one another, while above all towered the Papacy, strong enough to prevent a national unity, but not strong enough to enforce one, even were the will existing, of which there is no proof, and indeed strong evidence to the contrary.

During this period the individual came to the front and the State passed to the rear. Political conditions continually gave way before the power of individual politicians, and one strong man left his impress upon the country until it was effaced by another and stronger man. When a weak ruler succeeded a strong one, the edifice laboriously built up by his predecessor toppled over, and a chaotic condition ensued until once again there arose one capable of upraising the overturned structure.

It is this complex though highly interesting period of Italian national life and history that is treated in the volume under consideration, which has long been accounted one of the monuments of German research and

learning, and which is now given to us in an excellent English version from the third edition of the original, which contains some additions to the text, and large additions to the notes, by Dr. Ludwig Geiger, of Berlin, together with some fresh matter contributed by Dr. Burckhardt, and Prof. Diego Valbusa of Mantua, the Italian translator of the book. It has happened sometimes that Dr. Geiger differs from the view of Dr. Burckhardt, and these differences are indicated in the notes.

The author calls it an essay in the strictest sense of the word, and so it is, for all through the author states facts, and from them deduces principles. He frankly admits that another might, with the same facts before him, arrive at other conclusions. His scheme is exceedingly comprehensive. He aims to pass under review every variety and condition of life and society, art, culture, and employment, and from them all to formulate the principles underlying all the apparent chaos of conflicting systems. This is a task that might well deter many a writer who would find no difficulty in treating other periods; but the patient German author has diligently searched every record, and put his whole heart into his work, with the result that we have in the book before us the entire view of the period clearly unfolded.

The author's method is to take each subject separately and discuss it fully; and as each subject traverses nearly the same period of time, we go over the whole many times. There are six general divisions, treating of the State as a Work of Art, the Development of the Individual, the Revival of Antiquity, the Discovery of the World and of Man, Societies and Festivals, and Morality and Religion. Each of these general divisions is minutely subdivided. This method of treatment has both advantages and disadvantages; for while by it we gain a fuller insight into each subject, we at the same time lose the true perspective of the whole. For instance, while reading the author's very interesting and full record of the lesser and greater tyrannies of the period, we wonder how it could be that this same period could be full of scientific, geographical, artistic, and literary achievement of the highest value, and bring forth such poets as Dante, Ariosto, Petrarch, and Tasso; such novelists as Bandello and Boccaccio; such painters as Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michael Angelo; such musicians as Zarlino, the great theorist, Costanzo Festa, regarded as the precursor of Palestrina, Pietro Aaron, an eminent Florentine contrapuntist, and Ottaviano Petrucci, the inventor of printing music with movable types. Yet when we come to read of these achievements, and the foundation of schools and universities, the rise of the great merchant princes, and the developments of science as illustrated by the discoveries of Copernicus, we are apt to think that the political conditions might not have been so bad, after all.

This undoubtedly is a great disadvantage; and yet the author was fully justified in following this method, for his work is an essay and not a

history, and consequently the historical method of treatment would be uncalled for and out of place.

If we may briefly characterize the whole Renaissance period, we might say that it was the exaltation of the individual. In Italy more than in any other European State, birth and nobility were of less importance than culture and personal qualities. The author remarks that "the Italian nobility took its place in the centre of social life, and not at its extremity. We find it habitually mixing with other classes on a footing of perfect equality, and seeking its natural allies in culture and intelligence." Such a condition of social life shows a true spirit at the bottom ; and yet this very feeling was one of the chief causes why the unification of all Italy in one national government was so long delayed, and indeed came not until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, during all this stormy period, whether Venetian, Tuscan, Roman, or Neapolitan, the Italian spirit was predominant, and among all the petty States of the peninsula there was a constant interchange. Though there was so much outward diversity, there was still, underneath it all, a racial sympathy, which was bound, sooner or later, to result in a homogeneous nationality. Though Venice was for a time an Austrian possession, it never became Austrian, but remained Italian. Though Aragonese monarchs ruled over Naples, the Italian spirit was never subdued, nor did it even slumber. Therefore, though external circumstances might hinder and delay, they could not forever prevent the unification. Even the Papacy itself, the greatest of all hindrances to unity, finally had to look on helplessly at what it could no longer control ; and thoroughly to understand the history of Italy in modern times, we must know its history during this period of the Renaissance.

The translator has evidently done his work well. The style is easy and flowing, and a sympathetic knowledge of the period under discussion is plainly enough revealed. The reader, however, must always remember that he is looking at the same object from many different points of view, and thus he will correct what otherwise might seem to be a distorted perspective. This book is certainly the best work we know of in the English language on the period it includes.

D. E. HERVEY.

Individualism: A System of Politics. By WORDSWORTH DONISTHORPE.
Macmillan and Company. 1889.

This is a volume of essays that ought to be read by all interested in — and all ought to be interested in — the great wave of socialism that is flooding both politics and economics to-day. But it ought to be read with many protests both against the author's professed philosophy and his proposed remedies and results.

We note first that the book is written almost entirely with reference to English politics; but it is not therefore insular, as it deals with the politics of *Greater Britain*.

We note too that the tone of the volume is very polemical. He acknowledges that he has deliberately adopted a tone rather polemic than apologetic, in the belief that dull and mealy-mouthed disputation is less calculated to rivet the attention and impress the memory than a more vigorous and uncompromising style of criticism. This he applies alike to friend and foe,—to Herbert Spencer as well as to Mr. Joynes, whom he selects as mouthpieces of *Anti-* and *Supra-Socialism*. For illustrations, see pp. 271, 340, 381. His polemic is thus directed against the absolute individualism which minimizes the function of the State, as Spencer does in "*The Man vs. the State*," and against the "delusive gospel" of Socialism, including the *Neo-Radicals* who dally with the fiend.

Mr. Donisthorpe's philosophy is frankly that of mechanical, not to say materialistic, evolution. Bentham and Bain, Comte and Spencer, have been his teachers. But he is particularly a pupil of the able lecturer on jurisprudence of that school, Prof. John Austin. He is also frankly an Egoistic Hedonist in Ethics [p. 276], and believes in the right of "the *effective majority*" in politics. In religion he is nowhere, unless it be in agnostic secularism. Little fault is to be found with his first chapter on the evolution of the State as an organism, on its merely empirical or historical side. The family is held to have been the earliest form and germ of the State. The problem of the present State (*Greater Britain*) is to perfect a system "avoiding centralization on the one hand and disintegration on the other" [p. 32].

The future, nay, the present, belongs to democracy. His chapters on the structure and the functions of the State are commendable, in showing confidence in the people's capacity for self-government. The welfare of the ruling class, of the "effective majority,"—the test of all government,—is also an argument for democracy. But in his arguments for individualism, he frequently betrays the unethical conception that it is the culture and the survival of the strongest that is essential. Justice is the outcome, not a creative factor, of social evolution.

He gives a vigorous exposition of the great muddle of the labor question, and then proposes, as a practical solution of the difficulty, his scheme of labor-capitalization, a form of voluntary co-operation, as the next step above wagedom. The working classes themselves must make the beginning, and not wait for, or even desire, State help. Profit-sharing he considers to be fundamentally different from co-operation, as it regards the whole of the *profits* of industry as *morally* the property of the capitalist. We are reminded here of an admission made by Mr. Gilman in his able work on *Profit-Sharing*. "A touch of philanthropy"

has been the leading incentive in those who have made successful experiments in this method. He would have laborers, instead of accepting wages, enter into the venture as capitalists and free men, demanding a prearranged percentage of the gross produce. He would have the laborers take the initiative. And here he emphasizes the difference of his theory of the co-operation of labor-capitalization from socialism. "And now," he says [p. 363], "we are introduced to a remarkable confusion of ideas, with which socialists invariably try to cajole the advocates of any form of co-operation,—the pretence that all co-operation is socialistic. As though there were no difference between *voluntary* and *compulsory* co-operation! This is exactly the whole difference between socialism and individualism; for both look forward to increased co-ordination of industry." The one affords internal incentives, the other proposes external compulsion, which would violate individual freedom and well-being. This cloven hoof of appeal to brute force, the flaunting of the *drapeau rouge*, appears in nearly every socialistic scheme. Philosophic statement of the law of evolution ends in rant about revolution. We recall the close of Gronlund's *Co-operative Commonwealth*, where dynamite is suggested as the possible means of hastening the tardy evolution. So Mr. Donisthorpe finds it in the socialist *Catechism*, which he subjects to very destructive criticism.

With all its vitiating philosophy, the volume affords a needed corrective to much of the sentimental nonsense and immoral tendencies of current socialistic theories.

J. M. STERRETT.

Problems of Greater Britain. By the Right Hon. Sir CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, Bart. With Maps. London and New York: Macmillan and Company. 1890.

Sir Charles Dilke has brought before us, in a very impressive way, the magnitude of that Greater Britain which extends the name and influence of Great Britain over a large part of the civilized world. In view of its vast extent of territory, and the magnitude of the undertaking to extend English civilization and progress to the most distant lands,—an undertaking which does equal credit to England's courage and convictions,—it is no wonder that the author of this book expresses frankly the opinion that "the danger in our path is that the enormous forces of European militarism may crush the old country, and destroy the integrity of our empire, before the growth of the newer communities that it contains has made it too strong for the attack."

Naturally the problems are many and various in an empire having an area of nine million square miles, or nearly three Europes, half the seaborne commerce of the world, one hundred millions of people speaking English as their chief language, and four hundred millions under English

rule. The statement of these problems and their fearless consideration is a subject at once profound and complex, but, as treated in the work before us, none the less valuable and interesting.

Every possible assistance is rendered to the reader. The book is supplied with an attractive table of contents, five beautiful maps, and a most copious index. The arrangement of the material is specially worthy of commendation. The first four Parts, or about three-fifths of the book, treat of the colonies of Great Britain in North America, Australasia, South Africa, and India. In the closing part of the book are considered the philosophical, political, and social deductions from the facts given, together with the chief problems suggested by these considerations.

The vast amount of information is most interesting and suggestive, and is especially valuable in this concise and systematic form. The discussion of the chief problems is marked by vigor, sincerity, and discrimination.

We can notice only a few of the many interesting points. The Crown colonies, we are told, do not show so advanced an educational system as the self-governing colonies. Indeed, the criminal statistics of the latter show at present better results of wide-spread education than the statistics of the United States, which are affected, of course, by the large immigration of the poor and untaught of Europe.

The colonies, which are practically without any religious establishment, show the success of the principle, while "a stricter observance of Sunday and a greater power of Sunday Schools is noticed." Indeed, the religious life in the colonies appears to the author larger, freer, more general and influential than it is in England.

It is interesting to note that "the restriction of the sale of intoxicating liquors finds more and more favor every day throughout Greater Britain."

It is quite evident that the author regards Russia as the power whose hostility is most to be feared by England. We cannot conclude better than by quoting a strong passage on this point : —

The wealth and the ubiquity, and even the race-force of the Anglo-Saxons, will not of themselves preserve the British Empire from meeting the fate of that of Spain. We have frontiers which place us in contact with the only powers of the future that will count greatly in the world,—with Russia, with China, and with the United States. While it may be hoped that the people of the American Union will never again wage war upon ourselves, and while the skilful foreign policy of the Indian Government may retain China as a friend, it is difficult to view without anxiety the military situation of an empire so little compact, and so difficult, in consequence, to defend. No country can be less homogeneous than a nation which includes within its territories the Oriental despotism of British India and States as democratic as Queensland; but that which is our weakness is also, in a sense, our strength, as making Greater Britain, if she learns her task, the most intelligent, as well as the most cosmopolitan, of States.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

Brief Reviews.

What is CHRIST'S Church? Church or Chapel? An Eirenicon. By JOSEPH HAMMOND, LL.B., B.A. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

THE following words from the preface of this excellent work will explain both its scope and its tone. It is dated Nov. 29, 1889.

Reunion is not only 'in the air,' but both in Canada and in this country (that is, England). Conferences of Churchmen and Non-Conformists have actually met and have agreed to a sort of preliminary basis of Reunion.¹

But what appears to be most needed at the present moment is information. Half of our differences are the result of misunderstanding. Church and Chapel alike misconceive, and therefore misrepresent each other. Hence the Lambeth Conference of last year passed the following resolution:—

That this Conference recommends as of great importance, in tending to bring about Reunion, the dissemination of information respecting the standards of doctrine, and the formularies in use in the Anglican Church, and recommends that information be disseminated on the other hand respecting the authoritative standards of doctrine, worship, and government adopted by the other bodies of Christians into which the English-speaking races are divided.

To this recommendation, and particularly to the first part of it, this volume aspires to give effect. Its main object is to explain and vindicate those doctrines and usages of the English Church which are constantly alleged as 'the ground of Religious Non-Conformity.' Whilst it is hoped that it may afford instruction to Church people on questions which are frequently debated among themselves, it is addressed more especially to those devout Non-Conformists to whom I owe my first lessons in religion. I make no apology for appealing to *them*. I can at least understand their difficulties, and of many of them I think I have found the solution.

Approaching the subject in this hopeful and pacific spirit, Mr. Hammond has certainly done good service to the cause of the Church and of Reunion by this very valuable work of his. It is perfectly free from controversial bitterness from first to last. On the other hand, it does not water down the truth. It speaks the truth in charity, but likewise in boldness. Valuable as recent books have been, which deal with the same subject, we conceive this to be the very best yet published. It meets objections not met by any other, it goes farther than any other, by embracing topics hitherto neglected. It breathes a more conciliatory spirit, and is couched in kinder language; its references are more accurate,

¹ Mr. Hammond is here evidently referring to the basis of reunion as laid down in the points of agreement between Non-Conformists and Churchmen as given in the January issue of the CHURCH REVIEW, pp. 276-278.

and it bears traces of a wider reading. "Cradled," as he says of himself, "in Non-Conformity," he has had to think out the points at issue between Church and Chapel for himself. Mr. Hammond enters upon his task with peculiar fitness. He shows a wide acquaintance with the periodicals and literature of the Non-Conformists, and is thus able to quote with peculiar appropriateness from them. He is by this familiar knowledge able to make Non-Conformist writers of established reputation state essential doctrines of the Church. To take one example. He refutes the fluent nonsense of H. W. Beecher, favoring the existence "of five or six different denominations *at least*," instead "of organic unity among Christians," by quoting from men to whom both Churchmen and Non-Conformists will bow, as men of Christian integrity. From Dr. Milligan he quotes, "The world will never be converted by a disunited Church." From the veteran missionary, Alexander Williamson, "In our present divided state we will never Christianize China, — never!"

The first chapter having thus quietly led to the conclusion that our divisions are unhappy, the next examines the question as to whether separation is sinful. Very wisely Mr. Hammond leaves on one side the testimony of the Fathers, and of Christian antiquity, and examines the question solely from the Protestant standpoint,—the Bible, and the Bible only. The examination leaves us with the problem of how to reconcile the Scriptural definition of the Church as *one Body*, with the Registrar-General's return of independent religious bodies numbering 226!

He passes on to consider whether the Church is a visible Body and what is meant by the Scriptural epithet, "Kingdom of Heaven," as applied to the Church. Objections to the Church being a visible Body are then considered in detail; and here again the writer's familiarity with Non-Conformist works stands him in good stead, and he quotes with effect from several of them. It is like turning guns against the enemy from whom they were captured. The Congregational Church polity is then examined. Having thus patiently cleared the way, the author is at liberty to consider in what churchmembership consists, and lays down as the ground of his *Eirenicon* the fact that baptized Non-Conformists are "unconscious Churchmen." Assuming that, he bases his appeals to them as being within the fold, as being brethren and not strangers.

In the chapter on The Marks of the Church a very telling argument is used which is new to us. The writer examines the validity of the Non-Conformist plea that where God's blessing attends the efforts of Christian bodies (which bodies moreover have the Word of God preached, have eminent examples of piety and devotion, have evident missionary successes, and are organized as positive institutions), then these bodies are Churches every whit as good as the Church of England. In answer to this specious plea, one simple question is asked: "Is the

Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society, or the London Missionary Society, or the Church Army a true branch of CHRIST'S Holy Church?"

The contention that *ubi Christus ibi Ecclesia* falls to the ground. Rather ignobly, we conceive. We have said enough to outline the argument.

The plea of necessity for schism is discussed, and it is pointed out that the old objections of Non-Conformity have been gradually surrendered, and Non-Conformists are shown that if logical acumen, learning and scholarship and intellect are to have any weight in the controversy, as they would undoubtedly in a purely secular controversy, then that Non-Conformity has been as barren in intellectual sons as the Church has been fruitful.

The second part of the book deals with the Doctrines, Rites, and Discipline of the Church. Sound positions are taken throughout on the Sacraments and Sacramental ordinances. The concluding chapters deal with the objections against the Athanasian Creed, and all damnable clauses, with the charges of intolerance, arrogance, and exclusiveness; with the Church as by law "established," with titles, and lastly with what justifies secession.

We earnestly commend this work to the notice of the clergy, sure that if they once examine it they will recommend it far and wide, to deepen the faith of Churchmen and to win back our estranged brethren.

Supernatural Revelation: An Essay concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. By C. M. MEAD, D.D., lately Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: Aanon D. F. Randolph and Company.

This thoughtful work is entitled to serious consideration at the hands of agnostics. But our experience is that agnostics and unbelievers rarely read both sides of the question. It will, however, prove a storehouse of sound arguments. The author starts out by proving that a theistic belief is more rational than an atheistic one. If there be no Deity, the world is meaningless, aimless, and useless. Reason revolts from believing this; consequently, it is more rational to believe in a meaning, purpose, and use of this world, which can only be granted by admitting the existence of a Creator. A Creator is a Deity. The argument then passes on to examine how the Deity is to communicate with man, which communication is revelation; then what is a true, what is a false revelation, which comes from above, which from man. The reader is thus brought face to face with the *fact* of the Christian revelation. The matter then to be considered is whether that revelation be false or real. As an attestation of its reality, the Christian revelation appeals to miracles. Here again

comes the question, what is a true miracle, what is a false one? This is the part of the work which is crucial. An agnostic will be led without much trouble to admit Deism, and the possibility of a revelation from the Deity; but when it comes to the admission of the interference in any singular point, no matter how insignificant or how important, of the Deity in human concerns, the agnostic is firm in his disbelief. He will admit the possibility of a Deity, but only on condition that that Deity shall be remote and show no concern in this planet. He is like the man who admits that all men should be generous, but who buttons up his own pocket. One of the greatest evils that have been done to the cause of Supernatural Religion has been the loose and absurd definitions given by men writing in behalf of the credibility of miracles. An opponent has no difficulty in demonstrating the folly of the definition, and his admirers and himself then consider that the facts of miracles are disproved, whereas the facts may remain and the theory disappear. This is one of the most frequent of controversial juggleries, and one which invariably deludes some. When Mozley defined a miracle as a "contradiction" or "suspension" of physical laws, he injured the cause he championed. This is but one instance out of many. The definition that Mr. Mead gives is the best we have seen:—

A miracle is a new and supernatural agency inserted into the complex of forces ordinarily in operation, just as a man by the exercise of his volition and physical power diverts the forces of Nature from their ordinary course of working [p. 104].

Mr. Mead also clearly points out that if a substance is miraculously introduced, it then acts naturally and not miraculously. This is a fact generally overlooked; and men often dilate on the miraculous bread or fishes or wine provided by our Blessed LORD. These substances were miraculous only in the sense of being due to a miracle, and not in being themselves miraculous. Thus the wine at Cana was natural wine, not miraculous wine. It obeyed all the laws of ordinary wine, and was subject to all the chemical changes wine is subject to; what was miraculous was its introduction at the banquet, its creation. The same may be said of the loaves and fishes. The arguments of German and English writers on miracles are candidly and carefully examined, and the evidential value of miracles established. Mr. Mead honestly confesses that "atheists and agnostics, so long as they remain such consistently, can never be made to believe in miracles." This is self-evident. For to the unbeliever the first miracle to be believed in is that of the Miracle-Worker, the Deity. There is one phase which Mr. Mead has quite left out of consideration, and we regret it, for a chapter on it in such a work would have been invaluable. We refer to the superstitions of unbelievers or agnostics. Here is a large field waiting to be worked.

Believers have been bluffed off it by unbelievers ticketing their prayers and their belief as superstitious. If, however, the lives of unbelievers be examined, it is remarkable how little free they are from superstitious fears and customs. Personally we have known many who have clung with a pathetic tenacity to superstitious observances which indicated a real belief in some supernatural agency. Belief in God and in His Son is often dead when belief in luck is evergreen.

Our author divides disbelievers in miracles into three classes [p. 129] ; we should divide them into four. We will give the classes in their inverse order.

1. Those who accept the fact of the miracles unreservedly, but do so simply because their general faith in the Christian religion seems to necessitate it.

2. Agnostics as to miracles. They would leave it an open question what miracles are, and whether they really occurred in the sense commonly attached to them.

3. Those whose disinclination to believe in miracles amounts to virtual or even avowed disbelief, while still they profess to hold to all that is essential in Christianity.

4. Those who deny the possibility of miracles or any supernatural interference with Nature.

The whole of the treatment of the evidential value of miracles deserves an elaborate review. It is a masterpiece of reasoning. The value of miracles being demonstrated, proof of Christian miracles becomes comparatively easy. The relation of Christianity to Judaism is well brought out. The argument on prophecy concludes with this clear summary : —

It is this convergence of so many different prophecies towards CHRIST and the Christian Church which constitutes the real strength of the argument from prophecy [p. 256].

Every attentive reader of the Old Testament is struck by the ever-recurring Messianic prophecies ; by them and them alone the whole is subtly harmonized ; they are like the links of a chain now seen, now unseen, but which evidences that the whole is knit together. Each link may appear insignificant, and by itself is worthless, but welded to the previous and to the succeeding link, it loses its insignificance. Origen was right when he claimed that the prophetic books kindled enthusiasm in every attentive student. One point Mr. Mead does not seem to have touched upon ; that is, the difference between prophecy and prediction.

We should also have liked to see some space devoted to showing how CHRIST was the fulfilment not only primarily of Jewish prophecies,

but likewise of all prophecies. CHRIST was the fulfilment of Jewish prophecies solely that the Scriptures of God's Church might be fulfilled. He was likewise the fulfilment of Gentile hopes, because the Church was Catholic before she was Jewish. What man lost in the first Adam were to be restored to man by the second.

This we conceive to be the fundamental relation of Messianic prophecies to the human race. We regret that our author seems to have overlooked it. Of course a corollary flows from this,—that only in the Catholic and Apostolic Church is the fulfilment to be found of man's highest ideals. In the clearer light of Paradise we shall see that it was better to have been within the Church, even held back as she has been by the sordid ambitions of her children, than to have been wise in our own conceit without her pale, just as we all now acknowledge it would have been better to have been a devout Hebrew than a wise Gentile.

The three concluding chapters of this remarkable work deal with Inspiration, the Authority of Scriptures, and the Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism. We wish we had more space to devote to this essay on Supernatural Revelation. We hope to be able to return to it again. As a devout, learned, logical, and clearly worded treatise we earnestly commend it. Mr. Mead belongs evidently to the Catholic school of Presbyterians whose works we have had before to commend. Our author has so clear an insight into the Catholic doctrine of the authority of the Bible and its inspiration, and various cognate subjects, that, were it not for the titlepage, we should never have imagined he belonged to the Presbyterian body of Protestants. On no point is he in accord with popular Protestantism.

"Christianity is not the offspring either of man's natural consciousness or of the Bible," is an axiom the Church has been assailed over and over again for teaching, yet it is the dictum of our Presbyterian Professor. Again, "Christianity was widely established before there was any New Testament. The Apostles preached it as a Divine revelation; their successors handed down their testimony." Note again how near our writer comes to the Church's teaching that "the Church is the keeper of Holy Writ," — a doctrine which has been assailed with such bitterness and rancor, and still is by the great majority of the Puritan and Presbyterian party.

In the strict sense neither human opinion nor the Bible is invested with any *authority* over the Christian Church. CHRIST is the supreme and only authority. He is Lord and Master. All branches of Christendom recognize this; but Papists make the clergy or the Pope CHRIST's infallible representative, and so practically, the substitute for CHRIST as an authority. Protestants sometimes do nearly the same thing when they pin their faith to the dicta of some great theologian [p. 325].

Our Presbyterian writer is much sounder theologically than some of our own men, to judge by recent productions. He and Archdeacon Denison are in perfect accord as to our LORD's authority on the subject of revelation. It will be instructive to place a few sentences in parallel columns.

The sum of my position is this: 1. That our LORD, having made 'Holy Scripture' (a) His own, (b) has 'anticipated and foreclosed' (c) every manner of questioning touching the genuineness, the authenticity, and therein the authority of the several books of Holy Scripture [p. ii].—*A Paper read before the English Church Union, Feb. 27, 1890.*
By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.

If CHRIST declared the Old Testament to be an inspired book, His declaration must be accepted as true. On this point there can be no concession; whatever may be the fact respecting the limitations of the Incarnate SON, it is certain that concerning the matter in question He knew more than any modern critic. He who was commissioned to make a final and perfect revelation of GOD's truth cannot be called in question in His utterances concerning the very thing which it was His business to proclaim [p. 297].

The fact stands fast, therefore, that both CHRIST and His disciples ascribed to the Old Testament as a whole the character of a Divinely inspired book [p. 304].

There must be unity of belief before there can be organic unity. As we have on other occasions stated, more is done toward the accomplishment of the MASTER's prayer for unity by such works as this one, elucidating points of the One Faith in an orthodox manner, than by platform speeches and resolutions. We presume that since Mr. Mead remains a Presbyterian, his views on the ecclesiastical polity are not those of the Church; but we do heartily commend this work on Supernatural Revelation to Churchmen as a great addition to the few orthodox works on this difficult subject. It meets all the latest objections and attacks to the Faith from Germany, because they have been carefully studied, and yet it is refreshingly free from the uncouth barbarisms and solecisms men who have studied the German writers unfortunately aff

Sacramental Grace: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Nature thereof.
By Rev. WILLIAM BREVOORT BOLMER. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company. 1890.

We have here a very ambitious attempt not only, as the part of the titlepage we have given above states, to examine the Philosophy of Sacramental Grace and its nature, but to go far beyond that. The author claims to have propounded the "establishment of a theory har-

monizing the Church teaching on Sacramental Grace with the fundamental facts of all religions, and the application of the principles thus deduced to the two Sacraments in order." Not satisfied with so herculean an attempt, he further claims that the work "contains a thorough examination of many important subjects closely connected with either the general theme or the two chief branches thereof, and among others of Church Testimony, Original Sin, Regeneration, Lay Baptism, Eucharistic Adoration, Frequent Communion, and Discipline."

So vast an undertaking speaks well for the courage of the writer; but it is appalling in its magnitude to a humble reviewer. He feels that such a work as this can only be taken on the instalment plan. All that he can do is to skirmish around this imposing array. To commence, Mr. Bolmer defines Sacramental Grace as "a Divine gift, intended for man's spiritual advancement, bestowed upon him by GOD, through the agency of a minister formally authorized to act for GOD by means of a ceremony ordained by the LORD Himself." He prefers this to the simpler definition of "God's blessing bestowed through an ordinance."

Both definitions are inadequate, but as the shorter one is so on the face of it, and presupposes that it is taken in an orthodox sense, it is to our mind preferable to the longer one. The longer one our author deems exhaustive. It is not. It goes not far enough, and yet goes too far; that is, if it is to be taken as an accurate and exhaustive definition. It does not preclude an unorthodox interpretation. Any "minister" of the most insignificant sect could subscribe to that formula *ex animo*, and claim when he administers the LORD's Supper that he is fulfilling all the requirements of that definition.

This latitudinarianism is as far from being to our author's mind as it is to ours. He is, as we shall see later on, strict in limiting the administration of both Sacraments to ministers of Apostolic succession only. Again, the definition is also deficient in omitting to include as necessary to Sacramental Grace the touch of the minister. There must be human contact ere the grace can flow to the recipient. Grace is undoubtedly obtained "through the agency of a minister," by his intercessions, and by his preaching and by his reading of Holy Writ, but such grace is not Sacramental. Once more, the last clause of the definition is inaccurate. By means of a "ceremony ordained by the LORD Himself," would limit Divine gifts only to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Surely the unspeakable gift of GOD is given at Confirmation. Surely a Divine gift is bestowed at all the other Sacramental ordinances,—Holy Orders, Holy Matrimony, Penance, Unction. Yet these Sacramental ordinances are not recorded as ordained by CHRIST Himself.

The definition is therefore weak, as including as the channel of the Divine gift any minister who considers himself formally authorized by

GOD, and as excluding the five Sacramental ordinances as means whereby Divine gifts may be bestowed, and the touch of the minister. In the second chapter we have an attempt made to show that heathenism was universally Sacramental. Unfortunately our author does not define what he means by "Sacramental." If we are to take "Sacramental" in its theological sense, as an outward and visible sign conferring an inward and spiritual grace, then we join issue at once with our author. Heathenism was not universally Sacramental in its religious rites. In a passage on p. 53, Rawlinson on the Five Great Monarchies is quoted.

The Magians prepared the victim and slew it, chanted the mystic strain which gave the sacrifice all its force, poured on the ground the propitiatory libation of oil, milk, and honey, held the bundle of their tamarisk twigs, the employment of which was essential to every sacrificial ceremony.

And the comment on this Median worship is : —

Thus writes the author of 'The Five Great Monarchs,' in language which will generally be held conclusive on this point, and yet will by few be suspected of having been intended to serve our present purpose. When to this we have added that these Magi were believed able to prophesy by using a certain ceremony with a bundle of twigs, the Sacramental character of this highly sacerdotal, wide-spread, and primitive fire-worship will be disputed by no unprejudiced reader [p. 53].

We have here quite a new definition of "Sacramental." The writer completely confounds "Sacrificial" with "Sacramental." A Sacrifice is an offering to the Deity, and necessitates but one human being for its offering. A Sacrament, on the contrary, requires two human beings, — the conveyer of the Divine gift, and the recipient. In the passage above quoted, where we are told that the Sacramental character of the ceremony will be undisputed, there is allusion to only one human being, the priest offering sacrifice ; and the additional argument adduced, that the priest was able to prophesy by a bundle of twigs, does not make what was non-Sacramental Sacramental. Prophesying by means of the victim, or offering, was invariably connected with the Sacrificial idea. That heathenism was universally Sacrificial is a fact ; that it was equally Sacramental has not yet been proved, nor will such delusive arguments as the above help to prove it.

A philosophical work must contain at the outset a plain definition of the terms used, and the writer must throughout adhere to his definitions. We have no plain definitions here, and the writer does not adhere to the few obscure ones he gives. On p. 86 we have another curious description of what is Sacramental.

In order, however, to be Sacramental, or even to partake of a really Sacramental nature, sacrifices must, besides being highly picturesque, impressive, instructive, and promotive of godliness, have embodied in some way the idea of conveying directly to man some valuable grace or gift from above.

In passing, we ask for the difference between "Sacramental," or "partaking of a really Sacramental nature." We should have thought that what really partook of a Sacramental nature "was necessarily Sacramental." Be that as it may, this is the first time we have ever heard that the essentials of a Sacrament were picturesqueness, impressiveness, instruction, and promotion of godliness. These may be adjuncts or corollaries, but not the thing itself. We are glad, however, to have this tardy recognition of the essence of a Sacrament,—the conveyance to man of some valuable gift from above.

Later on we come to a chapter entitled "Sacramental Grace Defined," p. 110; and we turn to it eagerly and hopefully, to find, however, no definition, only a historical account of the various meanings attached to the words "Sacrament," and "Grace."

The chapter on the Church Testimony to Sacramentalism is sound though wordy, and concludes with the following enlarged definition of Sacramental Grace. We reproduce it here to make good our opening statement on the subject :—

By Sacramental Grace has been shown to be meant a gift from GOD, which is ordinarily necessary for the health of the soul, and for the final attainment of bliss, — a gift which is imparted only to men through ceremonies called mysteries or Sacraments, to the valid performance of which is requisite the ministration of a person who has been formally commissioned by the Giver to act for Him [p. 152].

In the chapter on the Relation of Baptism and Confirmation, amid much that is excellent, we come across the following startling supposition :—

The hypothesis or supposition that baptism administered by a bishop should convey the HOLY GHOST as well as work regeneration, and therefore leave no room for Confirmation, impresses us as eminently reasonable, and we cannot see that it is opposed in any way to any doctrine or official practice of true Catholicity.

We defy Mr. Bolmer to produce a single canon or a single passage from the Fathers substantiating this novel supposition. The part of the work, however, upon which the most thought and labor has been spent, is the chapter on Lay Baptism Invalid. It extends over a hundred pages and occupies more than a sixth of the volume.

The conclusion to which our author comes is the invalidity of lay baptism.' This is the ablest and best-reasoned chapter in the book. It runs contrary to the prevalent theory, but Mr. Bolmer is quite right in stating that a majority is no guarantee for truth. The position in which the matter stands is ably and temperately summed up on p. 370 :—

Sectarian baptism is not accepted on the lay basis at all, but on the basis of a certain degree of validity in sectarian orders. Our people commonly do not admit

the validity of those orders, and yet when it comes to the question of baptisms administered under those orders they believe in their effectiveness on the ground of some such validity.

The question as to who is the Minister of Baptism is one which needs much more serious consideration than is given it. It is assumed that the Church has decided that question, but the fact is she has never done so. There is no Ecumenical canon authorizing a layman to baptize. Certainly there is no consensus of opinion allowing erratical or schismatical baptism. The most that can be said is that in mediæval times baptisms by laymen were defended as being valid ; but then the baptizers were communicants, or certainly regularly baptized members of the Church. If the case of heretical baptisms of the earlier ages be adduced, it must be remembered that the baptizers had been duly ordained clergy who had seceded from the Church.

Irregularities may be winked at, and yet not sanctioned. Many irregularities are now winked at by those in authority ; not even a remonstrance is forthcoming ; yet to say that the irregularities are sanctioned by the Church would be false. With regard to lay baptism we all know that remonstrance against it was both loud and deep ; yet that lay baptism was very different from what confronts the Church nowadays, where men who have never been baptized by a minister of the Church assume the authority to baptize, and to baptize in opposition to the Church. The issue is momentous, and the day is coming when the Church will have to face it. It may become a burning question before which all other questions brought before the American Church will be as idle as chaff. Can we suppose, for instance, the following case as impossible to happen at any moment ? No one can say no.

A Unitarian is reconciled to the Church ; he is confirmed, ordained a priest and consecrated a bishop. He confirms and ordains. Suddenly the question is raised as to his baptism. On investigation it is found he had received only Unitarian baptism ; that is, in the "Name of God," not in the "Name of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST." What is the result ? The result is that this so-called priest and bishop is no priest or bishop, and his eucharists, his confirmations, his ordinations, are invalid. Can any honest man say such a case is impossible ?

The only safe course is the conditional baptism of all who have not received baptism at the hands of the Apostolic ministry. The chapters on the Holy Communion are not very clear, owing to the verbiage.

Our author, in the chapter on Confirmation as preparatory to Communion, is justly indignant at the loose interpretation some of our priests place on the rubric at the end of the Confirmation Service, allowing men in no imminent danger of death, or of being cut off for years from the

opportunity of being confirmed, to approach the Holy Table merely on a promise to be confirmed at a convenient season.

A final chapter pleads for the absence of intoning, for simple music, and simple ritual. The author evidently inclines to what has been termed a "high and dry" service, and is opposed to colored vestments and magnificence of ritual.

We think this chapter is out of place, but the author defends his predilections after a moderate fashion, and they are in consonance with his view of the Holy Communion, which is Sacramental rather than Sacrificial.

To sum up, this work is thoroughly sound in its theology, and contains many most valuable thoughts and arguments; but it is marred by its redundant verbiage, and would meet with a better reception had it a more modest titlepage. In all friendliness, and because of the good that is in it, we would strongly recommend the author to issue an abridged edition, in which his thoughts and suggestions would be brought out in lesser and more pregnant sentences. By this the Church and the author would be gainers.

Illustrated Notes on English Church History, Vols. I. and II. By the Rev. C. ARTHUR LANE. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

The first volume, which has reached its fiftieth thousand, treats of English Church History from the earliest times to the dawn of the Reformation. The second volume, in its thirtieth thousand, deals with the Reformation and modern Church work. Both volumes are profusely illustrated. We have examined them under several crucial headings, and have found the history of the Church satisfactorily given. It is a comfort to have a true and ungarbled history of the Mother Church; perhaps no history has been so universally falsified by Roman and Genevan foes, and by foes of her own household. The history of the British Church is succinctly and accurately given. S. Augustine's labors are honestly told; the grotesque nonsense about S. Dunstan is omitted; and he is allowed to take his place as one of England's great ecclesiastical statesmen. A correct estimate (to our minds) of Anselm's character is given, showing clearly that while he labored in all things for the Church, it was not for a national but for a Papal Church, and that the net result of his labors was to leave at his death the power of the popes stronger than ever.

The character of Wolsey is vindicated, though not so fully as we should have liked to see it, nor is sufficient prominence given to the part he played in the Reformation. It can fearlessly be said that had the Reformers built more nearly on Wolsey's lines, the Church would have been saved many a bitter conflict, many a sore humiliation. The influence of

Martin Luther is for once honestly told, and Non-Conformity traced to its true origin, — foreign power. The average Britisher is perpetually proclaiming Britons never, never, will be slaves ; he is ever on the alert against Papal encroachment ; and yet he tamely submits to the grossest form of foreign rule, and to be shackled and gyved by Swiss and German fitters. He is like a horse who shies at a shadow to break his legs in the opposite ditch.

We regret to see the term "Liturgy" inaccurately used throughout, for the Prayer Book instead of for the Holy Communion Service only. In a book which ought to be, and we hope will be, in the hands of all our young people, the greatest accuracy in terms ought to be used. The troublous times under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth are very carefully and accurately described. We have read these chapters carefully, and congratulate Mr. Lane on his excellent summary. The ruthless character of the Reforming deluge, which swept everything away in Scotland, is truthfully shown. It is the fashion in some quarters to decry the English Reformers ; but if such persons would only cast their eyes over the border and see what came about under the short-sighted and godless despotism of John Knox, they will begin to perceive that it required unusual clearness of vision and strength of character to discern in all that turmoil that the only safe harbor to ride the goodly ark of the Church of England was that of Primitive and Apostolic Catholicity. We, safe in port, may minimize the danger and the abilities of the helmsmen, but it does not require much insight into character to see in the leaders of to-day very few, if any, capable of steering the ship through such another storm. And in later times, had not Laud preferred duty to popularity, where would the Church be now ? Literally and truly nowhere. It is our honest belief that Laud saved the Church of England. Had such a weak-kneed man as Grindal been primate, the Church would have been destroyed forever, and the only way to have restored Catholicity to England would have been by an abject submission to Papalism. The trash that ignorant people write about Laud and his Romanizing efforts is, of course, utterly absent in these notes, and justice is given Laud, though it is but bare justice, as much that might be said in favor of his measures is left out. The sombre picture of the captivity of the Church is drawn very leniently to her persecutors, — that terrible time when English Churchmen daily repeated with heartfelt utterance the words of the Jewish exiles : "O God ! the heathen are come into Thine inheritance ; Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones." The terrible privations of the clergy are but little touched upon. The apologetic tone to the Dissenters has been too long adopted, with but poor results. It has only been since the Church has claimed her rightful position and been aggressive that she has compelled a respectful attitude from outsiders, and kindled the loyalty and enthusiasm of

her own children. The history of the Church from the restoration of the monarchy to the last Lambeth Conference is succinctly told ; and these volumes have the rare merit that they avoid all religious discussions and party rivalries, and thus let the history of "the Church of the Second Half of the World," as Urban prophetically called the Church of England, tell itself. When such a method bears being adopted, this is of course the most telling way. Long may the first provision of the *Charta* of the liberties of all English-speaking races be maintained : —

Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit.

It is needless to add that we recommend several copies of these volumes for constant use in parish and Sunday School libraries.

ENGLISH MEN OF ACTION.

Havelock. By ARCHIBALD FORBES. London and New York : Macmillan and Company.

In rather jerky sentences, but honestly and without undue flattery, Mr. Forbes tells us the story of Havelock's life. It will on the whole confirm the opinion held of this soldier by his compeers, — uncouth and priggish, yet grandiloquent in phraseology ; a firm believer of the science of war and an accomplished tactician, yet able to know the value of rousing enthusiasm in others, while himself unenthusiastic. Conceited, and having an overweening sense of his merits, ever grumbling at his lack of promotion and recognition, while in reality obtaining more than his share, he was yet honest in his adherence to his narrow religionism. In reading this biography, one is irresistibly reminded of Bacon's aphorism that, "A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place ; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy, for he may exercise them by his friend."

The friend who so served Havelock and practically made him was George Broadfoot, — a man of great power and of original talent, and who, had he not been cut down in the flower of his manhood, at the ignoble slaughter of Ferozeshah, would have been the foremost Anglo-Indian of his days. In reading this biography of Havelock, we wonder at the cause of his reputation ; and so far from calling him an unlucky or slighted soldier, we deem him most lucky and favored. It was at the age of sixty-two that he obtained an independent command of soldiers in the field. During the previous forty-two years of service he had done his duty, as hundreds of British officers in India had done theirs, but had done nothing of such a character as to justify his superiors or his countrymen to deem he was possessed of qualities far above the average. Indeed, many of his fellow-comrades had distinguished themselves far more than he had. What did Havelock achieve when in command ? He won the engagement at Futtehpore, which cannot be dignified by

the title of a battle ; it was, as Havelock himself called it, a ten-minutes affair. The importance of Futtehpore was not in the actual fighting, but in the fact that it was the first successful engagement with the rebels. In the moment of strained anxiety at the time the awful news of the mutiny kept every heart in England in suspense, there flashed the news of a victory, — the victory of Futtehpore, under Havelock. The joyful nation did not stop to consider the value of the victory nor the circumstances under which it had been fought, but the moral effect of a victory was immense. It buoyed men's hearts up, and the nation began to breathe once more. It was the opportuneness of the news that gave Havelock's name such a place in men's hearts. The march to Cawnpore was a soldier's march ; it is wonderful to read of the endurance, resoluteness, and cheerfulness of the men in that continuous march, in the fierce heat, attacked by cholera, insufficiently fed, badly clothed, no sooner halting than summoned to repel an attack or to continue the march, brushing aside the enemy wherever it opposed the line of march, with a fierce determination to reach Cawnpore in time to save the women and children. Had the executive been as able and prompt as the soldiers were brave and determined, Cawnpore might have been reached in time.

The first advance from Cawnpore to the relief of Lucknow was mismanaged, and we fail to see in it any signs of great or even good generalship. Havelock was splendidly served by brilliant and bold officers, by brave and intrepid soldiery ; and the blame of failure must rest on him, and him alone. The advances on, and retreats from, Mungulwar were criminal mistakes. They only weakened his scanty troops without any tangible or moral gain. The little army of relief returned to Cawnpore having effected nothing whatever, but having lost heavily in killed and wounded, and also from cholera and sunstroke. When Havelock returned, he found he had been superseded by Sir James Outram. When Outram arrived at Cawnpore, instead of taking command, he did what we believe to be unparalleled in martial history, — he postponed taking command till he reached Lucknow ; and he, the commander-in-chief, served as a volunteer to his subordinate officer, Havelock. This piece of folly is lauded as an example of generosity ; it ought to have been severely punished. Fancy Napoleon electing to serve as volunteer under Ney, or Wellington under Colborne. Havelock was in command of the second attempt to relieve Lucknow ; and to him must be laid the blame of bringing his troops through the narrow streets of Lucknow to the Residency. A more stupid piece of generalship was never committed. To march a column through narrow streets, with every window, every roof filled by the enemy, and the advancing column unable to answer by a single shot except where an angle in the street presented a mark in front of it, the wonder is, not that the column was decimated, but that it was not annihilated. Even our biographer is forced to admit the use-

lessness of this bloodshed,—utterly useless, since the Residency could be and was otherwise reached.

How needless was that bloodshed was evinced by the experience of the remainder of the column. When the two leading regiments, headed by Havelock and Outram, had started on their bloody path, the force behind them, with which were most of the guns, began to move forward in their track. Soon the advance was arrested by deep trenches cut across the road, which the heavy guns could not pass. At this crisis Lieutenant Moorsom, who knew every inch of the ground, and who, while Havelock and Outram were discussing, had been sent forward to ascertain whether the thoroughfare of the palace fronts was clear of obstacles, returned from his expedition of investigation. Havelock had not waited for his return, else the tidings which he brought back would surely have averted the bloody advance along the deadly street. But Moorsom was in time to save the following regiments from that dire experience. Under his guidance the column altered its direction, and he led it in comparative immunity by a sheltered yet more direct route past the palaces . . . By midnight most of the infantry and some of the guns constituting the column which had followed Moorsom were inside the Residency defences, with scarcely any mishap to bewail save the great loss of General Neil, who had been killed when expediting the desfil through a narrow archway, while the force he was directing was as yet pursuing the original route and before Moorsom had taken charge. It is a fair inference that had Havelock's impatience permitted him to wait for Moorsom's return from the errand on which he himself had sent him,—and the delay thus incurred would have been brief,—he might have reached the Residency with the Highlanders and Sikhs at the cost of very trifling loss [p. 207].

Not only is this perfectly true, but the very expedition was a piece of folly. Of what possible use to the beleaguered garrison could the addition of several hundred hungry mouths be? The incoming force was not strong enough to raise the siege. It brought no food but the bullocks that drew the guns. It but added to the difficulty of the position. Besides the men lost in reaching the Residency, the rearguard of wounded and stragglers were cut to pieces on the day following the entry. It was only the survivors of the attacking force who entered; and once entered, they neglected to keep the path open, which could easily have been done that same night. As a consequence the enemy at dawn of day fell on the rearguard. The whole expedition was mismanaged and worse than fruitless, since it only added to the difficulty of the beleaguered garrison. The real relief, and only relief party was that which reached Lucknow under Sir Colin Campbell, and released the original garrison after four and a half months, and the Havelock-Outram force after seven weeks' beleaguerment.

The fame of Havelock was due to a misapprehension of circumstances. A ten minutes' affair was deemed a victory, and a useless reinforcement a relief. We have already criticised the admission of second-rate men under this series. The series is admirable, but its value is impaired by faulty selections. England's roll of worthies is so long that it weakens the series to admit such men as Lawrence and Havelock.

The State. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. By WOODROW WILSON, PH.D., LL.D. Boston: D. C. Heath. 1889.

This is a noteworthy work. It is the first attempt that we know of to describe the history of government, as distinguished from that of the governed, of those who govern. Dr. Wilson apologizes for the length of the work; we are astonished that he has been able to treat of so vast a subject within so scanty a space. The task our author set before him has been admirably done, both as to measure of work and as to the spirit in which it has been achieved. The title is misleading in its modesty, as the following brief synopsis of the contents of the volume will prove. After treating of the probable origin and early development of government, the actual governments of Greece and Rome are analyzed. Roman dominion and Roman law is succeeded by Teutonic polity and government during the Middle Ages, then the governments of France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, and England are all considered, thus leading up to an intelligent appreciation of the government of the United States. Five concluding chapters deal with constitutional and administrative developments, the nature and forms of government, law, its nature and development, and the functions and ends of government.

Thus in a rapid but succinct manner the great question of government is traced through its European phases to its present development on this continent. We trust that the study of this work will soon be deemed compulsory in all our schools and colleges. Of politics American citizens have enough to nauseate all honest men, but of the knowledge of government very few have even the rudiments. There are four points we would have liked to have seen brought out more forcibly than Dr. Wilson has done. They are: (1) The influence of the Jews or of the Old Testament on all government; (2) The influence of early Christians on Roman law and government; (3) The influence of the Church Catholic on the formative period of European governments; (4) The influence of the Church of England on modern or so-called parliamentary government.

Dr. Wilson has not, it is true, as superficial historians have done, ignored these influences completely; but he has not given them that consideration they ought to have had accorded to them. In a paragraph on page 144 he admits in no ungrudging spirit the Mosaic influence, and owns that —

. . . If we could but have the eyes to see the subtle elements of thought which constitute the gross substance of our present habit, both as regards the sphere of private life, and as regards the action of the State, we should easily discover how very much besides religion we owe to the Jews.

So important an influence deserves more than a scanty note in small type at the end of a chapter. The influence of Christianity on early

Roman law and government is nowhere brought out, nor as far as we can remember even alluded to. The influence of the Roman Church as a unifying power is clearly seen and admitted, but the greater influence of the Church Catholic is unobserved. Yet it is the very warp upon which has been woven the whole fabric of government for over fifteen centuries. The influence of the Roman civil and imperial law through the extension of the Roman Church in the West was undoubtedly enormous, yet the influence of the Church Catholic and of her polity was far greater, wider, and more subtle. The influence which the Church exerted on European nations has since the Reformation been wielded by the Church of England. We do not mean that the Reformed Church of England put forth a *new* influence ; far from it. But the primacy among modern peoples which England has held, owing to emigration and the diffusion of the English tongue, naturally brought with it *pari passu* the primacy of the English Church. From her treasures she brought forth things new and old. Her ancient polity, which from her insular position ever was distinguishable from the polity of the Roman Church, furnished unconsciously the model of all free governments.

On the continent of Europe Rome assimilated national customs and polities. In England, England assimilated Roman customs and polity.

The history of the English Church as the mother of all modern freedom has yet to be written.

That we should point out these deficiencies in this work is but due to our readers. At the same time we would reiterate our commendation of the work as a whole. It is unique in its sphere ; it is almost ideal in its aim. It is painstaking in its details and extraordinarily accurate. Accuracy is a quality which we almost despair of finding in modern works. Yet throughout this work the scholar perceives traces of honest investigations in remote fields, just for the sake of being accurate in a brief sentence or paragraph.

Take the rather obscure history of government in the dual monarchy of Norway and Sweden, and the reader will find a brief sketch of past influences and a correct account of present governmental institutions that he would fail to find in any one work yet published here or in Europe. The same criticism that applies to the whole of the work applies even to this comparatively minor part, — the apparent ignorance of the influence of the Church and Church statesmen on the moulding the civil polity. Perhaps in no country has one individual so stamped his mark right across the pages of its history as Bishop Brask did on those of Sweden.

The chapter on the government of England will, we are convinced, be recognized by Englishmen as wonderfully exhaustive and accurate. It brings the history of governmental institutions down to the passage of the local government act of 1888. The government of the English

colonies is also carefully gone into. Of the history of government in the United States it is needless to observe that if the writer has succeeded in tracing the growth and ramification of government in all its complexity in Europe, he has not failed where the simpler problem presented itself in this land of ours. Three careful and valuable chapters conclude the volume, — the first on a summary of constitutional and administrative developments ; the last two on the functions and objects of government.

It is no idle verbiage when we say that no citizen ought to be without this work.

It is idle verbiage to say that a man can become an "intelligent citizen" without an acquaintance with its contents.

An Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament, being an Expansion of Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Dublin. By GEORGE SALMON, D.D., F.R.S., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

This is the fourth edition of an incomparable work. We know of no other work covering the same ground, and no other work in which is condensed all the latest scholarship on the history of the books of the New Testament. The destructive criticisms of the German school of Biblical Nihilists are examined with a rare patience and candor. We bear witness to the accuracy of the remark our author makes in his preface.

Although my work may be described as apologetic in the sense that its results agree in the main with the traditional belief of the Church, I can honestly say that I have not worked in the spirit of an advocate, anxious to defend a foregone conclusion. I have aimed at making my investigations historical, and at asserting nothing but what the evidence candidly weighed seemed to warrant [p. v].

It is one of the difficulties of a reviewer to apportion his space according to the merits of the works. Some books are entitled, by reason of their scholarship and orthodoxy, to detailed and elaborate reviews. We trust that such a review will yet be written of this work. All that can here be done is to briefly epitomize the contents. The first three chapters are preparatory to the main purport of the work, — historical investigation ; these chapters define the principles of all historic investigation, acutely pointing out that classical works, like those of Horace or of Tacitus, are accepted as genuine, with a faith which would be termed childish were the same stringent tests applied to their authenticity as are applied by modern critics to the New Testament books. And again, because, for example, Livy narrates prodigies which we refuse to believe, we do not argue thence that Livy was not the author of those books, or that Livy himself did not write them, and that they were foisted in by later writers. This, however, is a favorite weapon, and as illogical as it is favorite,

of many modern, so-called critics against the authorship of certain books in the New Testament. A recent traveller sailed over the entire course taken by S. Paul, and by a multitude of coincidences verified the accuracy of the sacred narrative. This is the fashion of our modern critic in getting rid of the miracles recorded therein, "A few notices here and there betray a later hand, especially those that are framed to show the wonder-working power of the Apostle."

The logic is delicious. Because we disbelieve what a man says, therefore he never said it. The methods of work of Strauss, Renan, the author of *Supernatural Religion*, Paulus, and others are pointed out; a chapter is devoted to Baur's theory of early Church history, and another to the alleged anti-Paulinism of the Apocalypse.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh lectures deal with the reception of the Gospels in the early Church. These four lectures are masterly summaries of the thought of the early Church. They contain a twofold line of argument. As soon as the credibility of an early witness has been established, then our author proceeds with that evidence to overthrow the fanciful constructions of the hostile modern critics. As an illustration of this method we will take the concluding portion of the seventh chapter. Just as farmers nail to the doors of their barns hawks and crows as a warning to the rest of the tribe, so we recommend that parsons cut out the following quotation, and fix it up in their studies as an example of modern criticism.

Before parting with the Apostolic Fathers, I must produce a passage which illustrates the skill of critics in resisting evidence produced to prove something which they have on *a priori* grounds decided not to admit. There are those who have made up their minds that the Gospels are comparatively late compositions, and who are certain that they could not for a long time have been looked on as inspired, or treated as Scripture. Now, the Epistle of Barnabas is owned on all hands to be one of great antiquity, dating from the end of the first century, or at least the beginning of the second,¹ a period at which, according to some of our opponents, S. Matthew's Gospel was perhaps not written, and at any rate could not yet have been counted as Scripture. But his Epistle contains (c. 4) the exhortation, 'Let us take heed, lest, as it is written, we be found, many called, but few chosen.' Here we have a plain quotation from S. Matthew, introduced with the well-known formula of Scripture citation, 'It is written.' But this part of the Epistle of Barnabas was till lately only extant in a Latin translation; hence it was said that it was impossible that these words, 'It is written,' could have been in the original Greek. They must have been an interpolation of the Latin translator. Hilgenfeld, in an early work [*Die Apostolischen Väter*, p. 48, (1853)], went so far as to admit that the Greek text contained some formula of citation, but he had no doubt it must have been, 'As JESUS says,' or some such like. Unfortunately, however, lately the Greek text of this portion of the Epistle of Barnabas came to light, being part of the newly discovered Sinaitic manuscript, and there it stands, the 'as it is written,' *λεγεται γενεραται*, beyond mistake. Then it was suggested that the quotation is not from S. Matthew, but from the second book of Esdras. Now, it is a question whether this book is not post-Christian (as certainly some portions of

¹ Hilgenfeld dates it A.D. 97.

the present text of it are) and possibly later than S. Matthew, say as late as the end of the first century. But the words there are, 'Many are created, but few shall be saved.' The contention that the words, 'Many are called, but few chosen,' are not from S. Matthew, but from this passage, though this itself may have been derived from the Gospels, is only a proof of the straits to which our opponents are reduced. Then it was suggested that the quotation was perhaps from some lost apocryphal book. And lately a more plausible solution, though itself sufficiently desperate, has been discovered. Scholten¹ suggests that the phrase, 'It is written,' was used by Barnabas through a lapse of memory. The words, 'Many are called, but few chosen,' ran in his head, and he had forgotten where he had read them, and fancied it was somewhere in the Old Testament. I think this is an excellent illustration of the difficulty of convincing a man against his will [pp. 107, 108].

And so do we.

Having thus traced the history of the reception of the Gospels, and found that the existing tradition concerning their authorship had never varied, Dr. Salmon next devotes a couple of chapters to dealing with the internal evidence of the antiquity of the Synoptic Gospels and the theories as to their origin. In a succeeding chapter the question as to the original language of S. Matthew's Gospel is discussed with much impartiality. The opinion Dr. Salmon favors is that of a Greek original. We incline entirely to that view. Moreover, we are of the decided opinion that our LORD spoke Greek, and that all His quotations from the Old Testament were from the LXX.

After discussing the various points raised in the Apocryphal and Heretical Gospels, our writer passes on to the consideration of the Johannine Books. The Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel and of the First Epistle is confirmed, and the motives for denying their Apostolic authorship minutely examined. The differences of style in the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are shown not to militate against their being both productions of the same writer; and the evidences of the minor Epistles which go to prove not only that they were the productions of S. John, but further, the authenticity of his authorship of the Fourth Gospel, are brought out in a masterly manner. An examination of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles follows upon that of the Canonical Acts. The last chapters deal with the remaining Epistles. An exhaustive chapter on the non-canonical books closes a volume indispensable to every educated person. We have always been inclined to attach very little importance to the *Didache* as an authoritative exposition of Christian doctrine; frankly speaking, it lacks orthodoxy. But the exposition given of this tract by Dr. Salmon has caused us to deem it of great value, though not as a Christian tract, but as a Jewish manual. Dr. Salmon clearly, we consider, proves the *Didache* to be an adaptation of a manual in use by the Jews for the instruction of proselytes. Viewed in that light, the tract becomes of great importance historically, as show-

¹ Scholten, born 1811, Emeritus Professor of the University of Leyden, a representative of the extreme school of revolutionary criticism.

ing the connection between Jewish and Christian ordinances. As a storehouse of historical research, graced by logical acumen and accurate scholarship, we cannot commend this work too highly. In these days, when every educated person reads of the attacks of modern criticism on the New Testament, it is well that the Christian should have in one volume all the criticisms honestly set forth and logically refuted. The style of Dr. Salmon is clear, vigorous, and trenchant. It is paying him no compliment to say that he reminds the reader constantly of the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Lightfoot. We envy the Church of Ireland such a divine.

Articles on Romanism. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, S.T.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Readers of the CHURCH REVIEW need no words of commendation from us of these articles. They are all reprints from the REVIEW. The first two articles are those which appeared in October, 1884, and January, 1885, on Monsignor Capel; the third, on Littledale's *Petrine Claims*, reviewed in the July issue of last year. As an appendix to the first article is published the correspondence between the venerable champion of the Faith and the Monsignor, and very instructive reading it is. It may be as well to remind our readers that the articles on Monsignor Capel are really a review of a work of that priest entitled, *Catholic! An Essential and Exclusive Attribute of the True Church*, wherein the "true Church" is of course taken to mean only the Roman branch and no other. As all readers of Dr. Hopkins know, he is much like the lamented Dr. Littledale: he handles his adversary without gloves, and himself expects no mercy. The great advantage of such a method of controversy is that the matters at issue are plainly stated and plainly dealt with. There is no seeking to hide paucity of argument by abundance of verbiage. Hit hard and hit straight, has always had a charm for us; and we feel convinced that when championing the Faith, it is the only honest course. We only regret that Dr. Hopkins did not delay the publication of this reprint until he could have included in it his article on Dr. Littledale which appeared in the last number of the REVIEW. There are many points of resemblance between the two doctors; and no one in America could have been better chosen to write on the English doctor than he who may not inaptly be styled the American Littledale. We trust that he may long be spared to wield the same trenchant pen in behalf of the true catholicity of the Church.

Why I am a New Churchman. By the Rev. CHAUNCEY GILES. Philadelphia: American New Church Tract and Publication Society.

As the title implies, this is an attempt to give a reason for the tenets of Swedenborgianism. It is temperately written, and useful for the parson

to consult if he has any "New Churchmen" in his parish. It is idle to argue with an opponent till the ground he takes is known. In this little book there is little or nothing that is offensive. Indeed, the writer is for the most part stating truths which the Church has ever formulated, though he thinks he is stating new truths. In so far as he protests against the gross materialism of religion as set forth by self-appointed creed-makers, and by not a few individuals in the Church, we are at one with him. It is in what he omits to state that we differ from him. The plan of salvation as sketched by Mr. Giles is shadowy, vague, and indefinite. Why cannot he give us the whole of the Gospel, not an outline of it? As to what may be called the Swedenborgianism of the New Church, he is silent. He tells us why he believes in Swedenborg, but fails to tell us just exactly what Swedenborg taught and wherein he differed from the Church and her Founder. It is just in that omission that lies the vital difference between the Old Church and the New Church. For our part we require a much more definite and detailed argument against the Old Church before we shall even begin to listen to any New Churchman. We believe, however, that if it shall tend to restrain individuals within the Church, and bodies without, from holding and advocating gross and materialistic views concerning the soul, its progress here, and its life hereafter, Swedenborgianism will have been useful to Catholicity.

The Philosophy of Preaching. By A. J. F. BEHRENDTS, D.D., Pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is not a work to instruct men how to preach or what to preach, but rather, what to believe. It is out of the full heart that man speaks. These lectures are an endeavor to so fill the heart and mind of the student with true belief. There is much that is worthy of notice and reflection by all students; but we conceive the volume to be of more practical benefit to those who have been in the habit of looking only at one or two points of the Divine economy, than to Churchmen, who have been brought up carefully on the lines of the Christian Year and in accordance with primitive doctrine. It certainly does not supersede for Churchmen Blunt's *Parish Priest*. It is very instructive to note, however, how the Protestant bodies are advancing to a true conception of the aim of preaching. It is refreshing, for example, to find the following precept boldly enforced: —

It is the good news of redemption in JESUS CHRIST which we are to preach, not a code of theoretic and practical morals [p. 86].

Again: —

Even on the widest definition the preacher is vastly more than a lecturer on ethics [p. 87].

Also : —

The Scriptures deal first of all with a succession of great redemptive acts, culminating in the Incarnation, Atonement, and Ascension, etc. [p. 86].

All this which is so sound should shame such of our preachers who think that they are advancing the interests of the Church by emphasizing the moral aspects of Christianity, as they term it ; it ought to be a warning to them to see the best of the men of the Protestant bodies rejecting this very basis as a sufficient ground for their preaching. Would we had fewer lecturers and more preachers ! Dr. Behrends rightly condemns all personalities, all politics, all dictation as to eating, drinking, and raiment. When the average Protestant has had his religion condensed down to one article of faith, "I believe in total abstinence, and every man who does not let him be anathema," it does one good to see a prominent minister of a prominent Protestant religious body decline to consider dictation as to food and drink the province of the preacher. Dr. Behrends has the courage of his opinions. He, on page 110, boldly assails the Protestant doctrine of the literal inspiration of Holy Writ. He accurately sees that this doctrine is mischievous and has been disastrous to the faith of his co-religionists : —

Against the infallibility of councils and popes was set the literal infallibility of Scripture, involving the theory of mechanical and verbal inspiration, which thenceforward assumed the primary place in Christian dogmatics. It was an unfortunate and mischievous change of base. It exposed Protestant Christianity to a double assault. Rome replied that the Church existed before the New Testament, and had always been the custodian of the Sacred Books, etc. [p. 106].

The Churchman will perceive in all this presentment a general levelling up, and will rejoice heartily at it. But in all this breaking up of old barriers, it behoves Churchmen to see that they individually do not compromise the position of the Church or delude others in the idea that she too will let go her moorings. While, owing to what it leaves unsaid, rather than to what it says, we cannot commend this volume in place of such manuals as Blunt's *Parish Priest*, or Heygate's *Ember Hours*, still we sincerely trust that Congregationalist preachers, at any rate, will procure it and abide by its precepts. One more extract before we conclude. It brings lessons to us all, to every preacher.

Be a king at home, and surrender the domestic reins to no other hands. Be chary of pulpit exchanges. Preach in your own pulpit, and let your own people see that you do this on principle and by deliberate preference ; and whenever you preach, always do your best. Do not hoard your resources, doling them out by weight and measure, holding back more than you give from fear that no new supplies can be gathered. Empty the cupboards [p. 231].

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on S. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By CHARLES J. ELЛИCOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Andover: W. F. Draper.

Critical students of the New Testament, who are at all advanced in life, will remember the profound impression made on the scholarly world by the earlier commentaries of Bishop Ellicott on the shorter Epistles of S. Paul. Perhaps no greater tribute to their worth can be made than the mere statement of the fact, that notwithstanding the many excellent commentaries that have since appeared, these of Bishop Ellicott still hold their place.

When Dr. Ellicott became a bishop, he ceased to publish commentaries. This fact is suggestive. It teaches us two things: first, that a bishop's life is crowded full of Episcopal work; second, that scholarly men who write commentaries, and who stop writing them when they are made bishops, are men who know how to sacrifice themselves to their work. For certainly there is no delight keener than that which the scholarly man feels, when he can devote himself to scholarly work; and that such men should give up such work for higher duties, proves to us that Christianity has as much power over educated men, to lead them to make sacrifices, as it has over devout women and praying invalids.

Bishop Ellicott has at length broken his long silence. In the intervals of his arduous Episcopal labors he has refreshed himself in the congenial employment of writing another commentary. This is the first that he has written on any of the longer Epistles of S. Paul. And he has well chosen, in that he has written on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It is in this Epistle that we gain our greatest knowledge of the practical workings of Christianity within the Apostolic age. To the study of this Epistle, and to the Acts of the Apostles, and to the pastoral Epistles must turn all those who are seeking the old paths. In the coming era of Christian union, these are the books of the New Testament that are to be studied.

What, then, is the particular value of the labors of Bishop Ellicott in writing this commentary? Happily this is a question not difficult to answer. The name which stands on the titlepage of the book accurately describes it. It is a *Critical and Grammatical Commentary*. Such a commentary is valuable only to the man of scholarly tastes and habits. The intellectually lazy clergyman, who wants a commentary that will save him the effort of study and the labor of thinking, had better not waste any money in buying this or any other commentary of Bishop Ellicott. But if he is a student, and is well grounded in Greek, let him by all means buy it, and he will find that he has made a good investment of his money.

Constant references are made to German critical commentators, to the New Testament grammars of Winer and Buttman, and to the Fathers

of the Church. Only incompetence and ignorance can underrate the immense value of the critical labors of the Germans ; and only a Catholic theologian can make use of those labors without harm to himself. The honey is in the dead carcass of the lion. The man who knows how to separate honey from putridity, may safely study German critical works ; all others had better let them alone.

Among the Fathers of the Church, S. Chrysostom is most frequently cited. Of all patristic commentators he is the most helpful. In the midst of much that is oratorical and diffuse, and much that is hortatory and exegetically irrelevant, S. Chrysostom has many gems of thought, and much wondrous insight into the meaning of Scripture. Sometimes one sentence of his will give more light than can be gathered in hours of study from other sources. With him Greek was vernacular, and he understood it as the modern scholar cannot hope to understand it. It is well, therefore, that Bishop Ellicott puts S. Chrysostom so prominently forward.

As far as arriving at the meaning of the Greek text is concerned, Bishop Ellicott is the very prince of commentators. Lexically and grammatically, he is as thorough as Meyer. But with his knowledge of Anglican theology and of patristics, he is superior to Meyer.

In company with most critical commentators on books of the New Testament, Bishop Ellicott has one fault, which will be esteemed more or less grave by different men. His mind is not sufficiently saturated with Semitic ideas and modes of conception. The New Testament is full of Hebrew idioms and colorings of thought. With these the mere Greek scholar is powerless to deal. The Hebrew idioms of the New Testament have never been adequately unfolded and illustrated. Good Greek scholars make mistakes in attempting to elucidate them. The only remedy is for every man to study Hebrew for himself, and undertake this work on his own account.

It is to be hoped that this qualification of the merits of this commentary may not be regarded as ungracious, as it is perhaps the only defect that competent scholarship will be found ever to allege against it.

Memorabilia of Sixty-five Years (1820-1886). By JESSE AMES SPENCER,
S.T.D. New York : Thomas Whittaker.

With a genial garrulity such as befits old age Dr. Spencer gives us his reminiscences since he was four years old. Many names now historic on both sides of the Atlantic are mentioned in the course of this life, and this gives an added charm to the volume. The immense stride taken by the nation since 1820 comes out very forcibly ; and the difference between the lack of ritual in the Church in those days and its abundance now, is more than once alluded to. Not only to Dr. Spencer's many friends, but also to the student of history, will these *Memorabilia* prove attractive and useful.

The Life of George H. Stuart, written by Himself. Edited by ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON. Philadelphia : J. M. Stoddart and Company.

Mr. George Stuart has long been well known as a great worker in the popular lines of the organizations connected with Temperance, Sunday School, and Young Men's Christian Association. It is the record of a devout, earnest-minded Christian, and it is in just such men as these that Protestantism finds its best development, and that the Church is made to feel how deep is her loss in not being able to count them as among her active soldiers and servants. With what an overwhelming strength could the Church of God march on her crusade against evil and immorality in high places, were all Christians united under her banner, instead of actually opposing her march, and that successfully, when she has such earnestness, piety, and zeal as is evidenced in such men as George Stuart arrayed against her! Not the less against her, that the opposition is not avowed or formal. As the Fathers of old recognized as Christians the Romans and Greeks who had led devout lives, so in the same spirit may the Church reckon as Churchmen those who, guided by the HOLY SPIRIT, live a life of godly morality, and rejoice to see His operation in all good works.

The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, compiled from her Letters and Journals.
By her Son, CHARLES EDWARD STOWE. Boston and New York :
Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

It is a matter of congratulation in the literary world that the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* should leave for future generations a record of her life and labors. However gifted or conscientious an editor may be, he never can replace the person whose life he is endeavoring to piece together. We like to know from a distinguished author himself how he views his successes and to what influences he attributes them. This goodly volume, illustrated by some excellent steel engravings and printed in the best style of the Cambridge Riverside Press, tells us the whole story of Mrs. Stowe's life. There is little in it but what her contemporaries have been acquainted with ; there is little in it that is novel, and nothing that is startling ; but the chief merit lies in the honesty and sincerity of purpose of the Editor and his mother. The life is given just as it has been lived. No personages are introduced for effect ; they are just mentioned, or written about, when they cross the path of the distinguished authoress. The influence which determined the future life of Harriet was derived from her aunt, Harriet Foote, who took the little motherless girl of four to her home and her heart. Harriet Foote was a devout and conscientious Churchwoman, while, as is known, the Beechers were Congregationalists.

To many the letters from Ruskin, the Brownings, George Eliot, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and others will prove a great attraction.

The unfortunate Byron episode is dwelt upon at some length, but not in our opinion satisfactorily.

An excellent index completes what will be, so long as the memory of the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is kept green, the standard biography of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The Tartuffian Age. By PAUL MANTEGAZZA. Translated by W. A. NETTLETON, assisted by Prof. L. D. VENTURA. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

It is a great relief to turn from the ponderous tomes of dry-as-dust divines, whom it is the misfortune of the Reviewer to be condemned to read, to a small volume sparkling with ideas and brilliant with thought. Such a well in dry places is *The Tartuffian Age*. Leaving for a while our speculative Doctors of Divinity to the toil

Of dropping buckets into empty wells,
And growing old in drawing nothing up,

we spent a very pleasant hour in the companionship of this disciple of Molière and Raiberti, as he unveiled with genial cynicism the hypocrisies of the age. We parted company with but one feeling of regret, that he had not lived in America so as to be able to lift the mask of our Tartuffian religionists. Here lies a vast and tempting field to a satirist. The varieties of these religious Tartuffes, lay and clerical, are innumerable. Nor are they confined to the "P. E." Church; a keen-scented satirist would find them even in the obscurest of sects, in the humblest ranks, as well under the chasuble or surplice of our priests as under our mitreless bishops. And as for our politicians, the very thought of the vast hosts claiming kinship with Tartuffe simply bewilder us. In the Appendix we have an abbreviated "list of some of the most noted cosmetics, with indications of their hygienic value."

We have searched in vain for our much-advertised American products, but find none of them included. Again, what a field for a native satirist!

What a fluttering of bonnets there would be if a new S. Chrysostom arose to declaim against luxurious women, their paints and pigments, their false charms and falser smiles, their costly adorments and meagre offerings. Oh, what a fluttering of bonnets on old and young heads! Mantegazza enumerates sixteen, corporeal hypocrisies "of the ladies as we see them walking in our streets or glittering in the boxes of our theatres." Omit one of the sixteen, "shoulders marbled with benzoin," and the remaining fifteen are to be found not only in our streets and theatres, but in our pews.

The motto from Raiberti on the titlepage, *La verità è la più ingrata delle dulcinee*, has long ceased to be accurate. Truth may have been

the most ungrateful of mistresses, but that must have been when poor Truth was still alive ; she was, however, left so long unsought at the bottom of her well that she perished, clemmed to death, to use the Scottish saying. Her picture only still survives. The last time we saw it, it was as the trade-mark of a society journal.

To the notice of such of our readers, if there are any, who read dull books, we cordially commend this little volume. It will help their literary digestion.

Satire is the condiment of literature.

Brushes and Chisels. A Story. By TEODORO SERRAO. Boston : Lee and Shepard.

A story of rare merit. The author has something more than talent ; he has genius ; and if he executes other works like this one, he will rank very high before long. This is not a Sunday School book any more than it is one of those magazine or newspaper stories that sacrifice all the unities of literary finish to please the groundlings. It is a strong book, but told with all the simplicity of perfect art. Persons who like the ordinary novelette with its inartistic metaphysical veneer, or its equally inartistic slang, are not recommended to purchase *Brushes and Chisels*. Those, however, who can appreciate a well-written, well-told story of human life and its passions, will be richly repaid by the perusal of this work. We are not going to give a *résumé* of the story, but will say briefly that it is a story of artist life in Rome, as seen by a Spanish artist. We feel diffident in suggesting to such an artist as M. Serrao an improvement, still we cannot help thinking he has made a mistake in making Comorto rush on his adversary's sword and thus practically commit suicide. It was not a generous or noble thing for a gentleman or a Spaniard to do. It would have been more consonant with the high artistic finish of the story, we think, to have let Comorto fall naturally in a duel ; and every purpose of the plot would have been served by such end, — at least, so it seems to us.

We admire the courage of M. Serrao in being true to Nature in his description of Angelica tempting Comorto and then leaving him to die. A weaker author would have killed off Angelica or made her repent, and thus have sacrificed truth to sentimentality.

We trust before long to welcome another production from M. Serrao.

The New Eldorado. A Summer Journey to Alaska. By MATURIN M. BALLOU. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

This is a very readable, and we should think correct account of Alaska. The wonderful scenery of our northernmost possession is graphically described, and the industries, manners, and customs of the natives faith-

fully depicted. On the whole, we are inclined to believe that Alaska and Alaskans have been painted in too lugubrious colors. There is no doubt that Uncle Sam got an excellent bargain in his purchase, and that in the future he will be amply repaid by its lumber and mineral resources. We were disappointed at being told so little of the great work the Eastern Church has done and is doing in Alaska. We rather incline to the belief that our Church has no business there as a missionary to the Indians; it seems that we do not do much good to the whites, or perhaps they are not "Episcopalians," and therefore do not seek to be benefited by us. We talk a great deal about unity. Are we not infringing that unity when we intrude ourselves where there is a valid Episcopate already in possession of the land? On all these points we would like some clear speaking respecting the New Eldorado. We heartily recommend this interesting volume, as under the entertainment it will afford it will remove many misconceptions.

Alan Thorne. By MARTHA LIVINGSTON MOODEY. Boston: D. Lothrop Company.

This is the story of an experiment,—the experiment being to try to bring up a child without any knowledge of the Bible, a Saviour, or a God. It is really reducing to practice logically what we believe the great majority of Americans do illogically. Parents often say, "Let the child decide when it is old enough." In this case the parent says the child shall not be biased in favor of the existence of a God, and so when he comes to years of reason he shall decide according to pure reason without any prepossessions as to whether there is a God, and if a God, whether the God of the Bible. By discovering his mother's Bible, and by conversations with an old gardener, the boy is brought to the knowledge of God and His Son, and in the end is the cause of the conversion of his father.

Marion Graham; or, "Higher than Happiness." By META LANDER. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

The story of a girl who refuses the hand of her lover when she finds out that he is an unbeliever. This is a moral so unwelcome and so little heeded by the girls of to-day that it is refreshing to find it brought out even in a novel. No couple can really have the purest happiness of congenial intercourse who have different forms of belief. The results, nine times out of ten, are that the belief of the one is weakened by the unbelief of the other, rather than the unbeliever or slack believer is converted into a devout believer. It is like the old story of marrying a profligate to redeem him. We are grateful to the authoress for giving girls so true a lesson on so momentous an issue as marriage. Owing to its sectarian character, it is not a book we would advise being in a Sunday

School library, and thus lent indiscriminately ; but it is a book which if lent judiciously might be the means of saving a girl's life. A clergyman, as we have repeatedly said, ought to have a small select library of inexpensive books to lend on proper occasions. People will take advice from a book which they will reject from the man. *Marion Graham* will be found useful to be included in such a library.

Edward Burton. By HENRY WOOD. Boston : Lee and Shepard.

A novel full of incident and life. A summering at Bar Harbor affords the opportunity of introducing many personages, and a reverse of fortune of testing the disinterestedness of friends and lovers. The wholesome moral is pointed out, that it is not money, but the right use of money, which confers any degree of happiness. The prevalent ambition of getting money for money's sake, of speculating so as to rival a neighbor in the size of his "pile," is as ignoble as it is heathen ; it is utterly opposed to the life of CHRIST and to the teachings of the Church. This is another book which, like *Marion Graham*, if lent judiciously might do inestimable good.

Strange True Stories of Louisiana. By GEORGE W. CABLE. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

Few modern novelists have held the interest and intelligent appreciation of the cultivated class of readers as Mr. Cable has in his charming stories.

His tales, whether short or long, challenge the cosmopolitan taste of the day. The combination in the present series of stories is unique. Quaint drollery, a rare pathos, and a keen insight into the bare side of human nature abound. This collection of short stories begins with a racy and fanciful account of "How I got them," and then proceeds to the telling of odd tales and adventures. The illustrations, photographs of the originals in possession of Mr. Cable, greatly enhance the book's intrinsic value.

To quote the writer's own words, for we can in no fairer words express our admiration of the book, "Within the last few years there have dropped into my hands by one accident and another a number of Natural Crystals, whose charms are never the same in any two, and in each and all enough at least to warn off all tampering of the fictionist." We are sure that all who have read these stories will feel they have had the rare good fortune of having had some of those exquisite crystals dropped into their hands.

Little Saint Elizabeth, and other Stories. By FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The trite reflection of the absolute happiness the little folks of the present day should feel with such books and pictures to make eye

and heart glad, certainly will occur to all who possess this charming book.

The *Little Saint Elizabeth*, the title of the work, is the leading story.

It possesses the same purity of tone and grace of style as the tender story of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and the interesting *Sara Crewe*. In addition to this there is a subtle charm in the picture of the old aunt, Mademoiselle de Rochemont, "who never seemed exactly of flesh and blood, but she was more like a marble female saint who had descended from her pedestal to walk upon the earth."

This cold, silent, and high-born woman and the curé of the quaint village in Normandy form the moral and mental atmosphere of the sensitive little orphan Elizabeth during her early life in the stately château. The contrast is finely brought out with her later years, after the death of her aunt and her removal to new duties under the guardianship of her worldly and carelessly generous French uncle, who wishes to educate his charge as befits the position of an heiress of millions. Still the impress of the silent yet earnest training of early years is not obliterated in the strong, clinging nature of the child; little Saint Elizabeth grows more like other children, perhaps, after some thrilling experiences, but never altogether so.

There are beautiful touches of humor and fun in the other stories. The woes of the long-suffering Baby are especially well depicted in "Behind the White Brick," and Prince Fairy Foot is as gracefully and minutely described as such an extremely dainty-footed personage deserves. Binding and illustrations lend additional charms to the book.

The Wit and Wisdom of E. Bulwer-Lytton. Compiled by C. L. BONNEY.
New York: John B. Alden.

The compiler had a difficult task before her; but she has performed it well. No other modern English writer is so full of genial wit and sound wisdom as Bulwer-Lytton. To our mind he is the prince of English novelists, the English Balzac. No other novelist has depicted the English so accurately, and none has attempted to depict English life of town and country, save perhaps Trollope. But while Trollope has produced but one first-class work, *Barchester Towers*, and soon outwrote himself, every work of Bulwer-Lytton is of first-class merit, and to the last his pen never forgot its cunning. Dickens never drew a gentleman, and his women are insipid; while great as his genius was in the caricature portrayal of the lower classes of England, he never emancipated himself from his first style. His range of vision was limited, though keen. Thackeray, on the other hand, was undoubtedly the superior of Dickens in point of style and artistic finish, producing in *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond* two masterpieces, and in the por-

trayal of gentlemen was undoubtedly successful ; but his sympathies were narrow, and he was able to understand only one class of men. George Eliot, before she fell under the fatal influence of the German school, produced some capital work, as witness *The Mill on the Floss* and *Romola*. But the warmest admirers of these three popular writers, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot, have never claimed the genius of versatility for them. Bulwer-Lytton, however, has written of every phase of English life. The statesman, the man of letters, the county squire, the dilettanti, the man of fashion, the man of the world, the adventurer, are all portrayed on his canvas. The only man not limned is the city man. The reason of that is not far to seek : the city man had not in Bulwer's days come to be of the importance he since attained. The only successful delineations of the city man we have yet seen are those by Mrs. Riddell. The very versatility of Bulwer-Lytton puzzled the critics. They had laid down the law that the author of *Pelham* and *Paul Clifford* was great in the delineation of town life, and of certain phases of that life only, and that therefore he was unable to portray the peaceful country homes which England has the right to boast of, when the anonymity that had sheltered itself under Pisistratus Caxton was revealed, and in this genial writer of the best of English life and manners was discovered the delineator of fashionable town life. Recovering from the shock, the critics then endeavored to explain the difference of style by saying that the latter was the mature and mellow style of the author ; while the truth was that some of the so-called earlier works were written after *My Novel*. Again, when the critics had ascribed *The Coming Race* as the production first of one Cambridge professor and then another, they were mortified when the quiet announcement was made on the publication of *The Parisians* that the author was the one they had never thought of, — Bulwer-Lytton. It is not to be wondered at that critics were apt to be peevish when they had been so often confounded by the versatility of the brilliant author. Again, it was, and perhaps is still, a maxim of English criticism, as deeply rooted as the British Constitution, that no Englishman could succeed in two different walks of life. A Frenchman might, but then, he was — a Frenchman. Bulwer-Lytton contradicted this maxim by his successes. He was a polished orator, and the announcement of a speech by him soon filled the House. In spite of the prejudice attaching to literary men, he was frequently offered office. His reputation as a statesman was enough to make that of half a dozen ordinary ones. Had he not been a novelist and an orator, he would have ranked high as a poet. Some of his poems are perfect gems ; and his epic, *King Arthur*, has never received the praise that was its due. Our next-door neighbors are perhaps unaware of the debt they owe

Bulwer-Lytton, as without him there would have been no British Columbia, hence no Confederation, no Dominion, no Canada Pacific Railway, for when Secretary of State for the Colonies he made the acquisition of British Columbia a cabinet question.

Little wonder that a man so endowed should have puzzled Grub Street critics. To use one of his many aphorisms which have, unnoticed, passed into current language, —

“The pen is mightier than the sword.”

Practical Sanitary and Economic Cooking, adapted to Persons of Moderate and Small Means. By Mrs. MARY HENNIAN ABEL. The American Public Health Association. 1890.

The title sufficiently explains the object of this little book. How far it will succeed to any degree in revolutionizing American cooking is doubtful; yet there is no more wasteful and unsatisfactory cooking than that of American lower and middle class homes, unless it be that in those of their English cousins. This continent affords a variety of food unparalleled by any other nation, and yet the *menu* of American homes is monotonous to a degree unknown even in Northern France. Nor, if we examine the bills of fare set forth at the end of this volume, do we find any improvement suggested in the right lines. The authoress of this treatise falls into the common error of all doctrinaires. Soups are eaten by the people of Germany, France, and Italy, *therefore* they must be eaten by the Americans. This is a *non sequitur*. The influence of climate is completely overlooked. In some portions of this continent soups will be relished, in others they will not; and if they are not, they will not be eaten, no matter how many prize essays are written, telling people to eat them. It is not that people do not know how to make them; but it is that they have started with a prejudice in their favor, and yet have discarded them. The one European country where soups are not eaten is England; and yet England has furnished the smallest number of our immigrants. The great bulk of our immigrants come, the Irish excepted, from soup-eating countries; yet when once they have been settled in this country a few years, they cease completely to eat soup.

The very first bill of fare, however, ignores all this; and we have soup provided twice a day, for dinner and supper. The supper is to consist of browned flour soup, with fried bread and toast and cheese! — a most indigestible compound, and not a very satisfying one. In the bills of fare, Class I., not once are tomatoes recommended; and in Class II. we noticed them only twice. Yet tomatoes are the healthiest vegetables we have; and they can be bought anywhere very cheaply, and can be cooked in a great variety of styles. There seems to be an almost total disregard

of green vegetables. We notice beans, lentils, hominy, oatmeal, barley, etc., often on the bills of fare, but lettuce not once in Class I., and only once in Class II. We cannot recommend the authoress for variety in her *menus*.

Turning to the receipts, we are thankful to see many excellent ones; at the same time we must protest against spoiling a shoulder of mutton by rubbing it over with salt and vinegar several days before cooking it. In many parts of the country oysters are cheap; they are also a favorite dish with our people, rich and poor; yet we do not find them mentioned in the Index, nor are crabs. Only one page in the book is devoted to the important department of fish.

Under the heading of *Drinks* we find no mention made of the delicious drinks that can be made from fruit syrups, though we have directions how to make such insipid stuff as oatmeal gruel, rice gruel, corn-meal gruel, barley gruel, sago and tapioca gruel. Fruit is with us very cheap; and directions how to make fruit syrups, to be used for summer drinks, would have been invaluable. Again, we do not find any notice taken of the cranberry, which grows wild in many sections of this continent, and which furnishes excellent material for sauces, jellies, summer drinks, and winter cordials.

In the first part of the book, treating of the kitchen and fuel, we expected to find a strong recommendation to the American housekeeper to use the oil-stoves, as cleaner, more economical, and cooking better than the ranges. We find instead a misleading recommendation of them as capable of cooking a single dish or boiling a tea-kettle. Now, on an oil-stove just as much can be cooked as on an ordinary range, and, as a rule, the flavor is superior. The bane of the common American home is the range, which fills up a third of the exiguous kitchen, and makes life and the preparing of meals in the summer a perfect burden; whereas by the oil-stove no heat is given off, there need be no stooping for tired backs, the full heat is had as soon as a match is struck, and a turn of the hand shuts it off. There is no chopping of wood, no coal to handle, no dust or ashes, and no enervating heat to rob the housewife of her appetite for the food she is cooking.

Mrs. Abel's work contains many good features, but is not superior to any ordinary household cookery book, while it decidedly falls below the average of the majority of such works.

Sunday-School Books.

Amina: A Tale of the Nestorians. By EDWARD L. CUTTS, author of *Turning-Points of English and General Church History, etc.* London: S. P. C. K. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

A charmingly written narrative. It reads more like the story of an adventure by Mr. Cutts than *fiction*. The gaudy, childish cover will, however, prevent many a grown-up person from reading it. The more is the pity, since it is an instructive account of the life of our persecuted fellow-Christians, suitable for the old, even better than the young.

Match-Box Phil. By PHOEBE ALLEN. London: S. P. C. K. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

This is a story of very inferior merit to *Amina*, but perhaps for that reason one which will be more attractive to young people. It is the adventures of a young street Arab who runs away from London into the country.

Jack and his Ostrich: An African Story. By ELEANOR STREDDER. London, Edinburgh, and New York: T. Nelson and Sons.

An ostrich saves the fortunes of a burnt-out English farmer, and secures the vindication by the discovery of a lost bank-note of an innocent man. It is evidently written by one who has lived in the scenes she describes. We shall for the future have a greater respect for the ostrich than our traditional knowledge of him had given us. The story is really a vindication of this maligned bird. It appears that the reason why the ostrich hides his head is because it is the only vulnerable part of its body. The slightest blow on its head will kill, while it can defend itself effectively with its strong wings. It is man, therefore, who is foolish, who attributes a foolish motive to the wise precaution of the ostrich. It is interesting, attractive, entertaining, and far above the average of Sunday School books.

A Japanese Boy. By Himself (Shiu Kichi Shigemi). New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Not intended for Sunday School libraries, but as an honest account of Japanese life, we yet cordially recommend this little volume as an addition to all Sunday School libraries. It is a most interesting, because artless, account of every-day Japanese manners and customs. The story of school-boy life at the beginning of the volume can hardly fail, by the different life it reveals, to interest all American school-boys.

Scripture Picture Book. Old Testament. London: S. P. C. K. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

Printed in large type, with many pictures, it forms a capital book for children to learn some of the salient events in the Old Testament. The ignorance of this generation in the Old Testament is something appalling.

Heroes and Martyrs of Invention. By GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

A capital idea well worked out. A book of interest to all, and teaching lessons of patience, courage, and nobility of character in such a way that the imagination of youth cannot help being kindled to emulate such heroes. Perhaps no life is more pathetic than that of Elias Howe, the inventor of the sewing-machine. The first chapter, on early inventors, is interesting reading. It certainly proves that all our so-called modern inventions are but rediscoveries. A valuable addition to all Sunday School libraries, and for such we cordially recommend it.

Follow the Right: A Tale for Boys. By G. E. WYATT. London and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons

Our hero, a young Etonian, appears to us at the railway station, as he is about starting home for the holidays. He enters at once into active life by rescuing from before the fast-approaching train the pet dog of a frantic old lady from whose arms it has escaped. Lady Harriet, Geoffrey's mother, was the only daughter of Lord and Lady Mannington; and when she frustrated all their plans by marrying a struggling young barrister, Lord Mannington refused to allow further communication with her, and unknown to Geoffrey, it is his own grandmother to whom he has rendered this service.

During the years that have passed since his marriage, Mr. Treherne has rapidly risen to eminence in his profession; but a few days after this preceding incident he comes home broken down by overwork. His great regret is for Geoffrey, whose future prospects must be sacrificed to this change of circumstances; but Geoffrey himself bears up bravely, gives up Eton, and by hard work succeeds in obtaining a valuable Oxford scholarship. Through one of the examiners at Oxford and a former teacher of Geoffrey at Eton, Lady Mannington learns of her grandson's noble character and successful effort, and also that it was he who risked his life in saving that of her pet.

Lord Mannington, who has begun to realize his injustice, is won over completely; and Geoffrey returns from his examination to find his father nearly restored to health, and that the much-longed-for reconciliation

with his grandparents has taken place all because "he'd seen his duty a dead-sure thing, and he went for it thar and then."

The whole story is brightly and naturally told, and has none of the priggishness so distasteful to boys.

Smitten and Slain : A Nineteenth-Century Romance of Life in China. By A. V. V. London and New York : Thomas Nelson and Sons.

The romance of a pleasing little Chinese maiden, Lingsam, who, unlike her sisters of the "lily feet," meets and loves her future husband, Hsi Ting-Chang. The marriage, arranged by Chang's mother, proves a very happy one until Chang falls a victim to the opium habit. At the urgent request of a young English missionary he enters an opium hospital, but leaves uncured ; and the story closes with the death of little Lingsam and her baby boy.

Were we writing a very critical review, we might perhaps criticise the manner in which the book is written. The conversations, although animated, would hardly be recognized by a well-educated Chinaman as belonging to his compatriots. One particular sentence arouses our curiosity. In it the dog, roused by his master's voice, "shows his satisfaction by wagging his tail and adding thereby to the uproar."

The book takes for its moral the evils of the opium habit, and emphasizes the sin of the English nation in engaging in a traffic which brings such trouble and sorrow in its train. It is chiefly interesting from the originality of the subject and the little insight into Chinese customs that it gives.

Madge Hilton; or, Left to Themselves. By Agnes C. Maitland. London and New York : Thomas Nelson and Sons.

We cannot claim much originality for this work of Mrs. Maitland, but it is one of those bright, wholesome stories of English family life that one never tires of reading. Mr. and Mrs. Hilton, obliged to leave home for a year's absence, leave the children in charge of the governess and French teacher, subject to the supervision of a favorite uncle. Leslie, the eldest daughter, feeling that she is too old to be left under guardianship, becomes rebellious ; and the younger children, not slow to follow a bad example, manage to get into all sorts of scrapes, and things are generally uncomfortable until the climax is reached, and Mademoiselle finds it necessary to write a letter of complaint to Uncle Harry. This letter is left with the children to be delivered, but is finally, with the aid of one of the older boys, who is something of a Paul Pry, opened and read and laid aside until the next day, that they may not be punished by losing a promised treat.

Madge is a lovable, sympathetic little girl, with a strong sense of honor,—a great favorite with the younger children, whose playmate and confidante she is. She, perhaps, is the greatest sufferer in this reign of disorder, for in her endeavors to do what is right, she is deserted by the others, who think she has committed that dreadful sin of child-life, siding with the teachers. With the exception of Gerald, the oldest boy, Madge is the only one who has no part in withholding the letter, but is disgraced with the rest, as she cannot feel that it is loyal to make an explanation. Robin, who is a dear little fellow and her particular pet, resolves to do "something" to relieve her unhappiness, and writes a funny little letter to his parents, which leads to a general explanation when they reach home some two months earlier than was expected.

Robin's adventure with the shoeblocks when he goes to see the Queen open Parliament and undo the door with a big gold key, is very entertaining; and the whole book is full of little scenes and incidents that make it interesting to old and young.

Manuals and Books of Devotion.

The Choristers of the Bible: A Book of Instruction and Devotion for Choir-Boys. London: S. P. C. K. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

A simple, useful manual suitable for all choir-boys. The great rock on which choristers founder is irreverence. Familiarity with holy things breeds contempt. Many choirs are positive hindrances to devotion; and unless there is an inward reverence beneath the cassock and surplice, the chorister is best out of the choir-stall, no matter how well he sings. The foundation of reverence can alone be laid in youth, and this appears to be a manual most suitable for that object. Its cheap price, twelve cents, enables its free distribution.

Instruction on Meditation, reprinted from Helps to Meditation. By the Rev. ALFRED G. MORTIMER. New York: E. and J. B. Young and Company.

Meditation is an art, and a lost art. Yet without that art most of the Bible is a sealed book, and the higher degrees of holiness unattainable. It is a misfortune that the traditions of the Protestant Episcopal Church are all against meditation; and not until she knows how to train her children in that heavenly way will she be able to convince her opponents that she is a branch of the HOLY Catholic Church. We hear

much nowadays of the Catholicity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but very little of its holiness. Yet she must be Holy before she can be Orthodox. These hints on *meditation* are excellent; they breathe throughout a devout spirit, and are not too high-pitched for beginners in the spiritual life, which is the usual fault of such productions.

Manual of the Brotherhood of S. Andrew. Chicago: The Brotherhood of S. Andrew.

This gives the constitution, methods of work, form of admission, a few prayers, and a list of existing chapters.

Sufficiently Instructed; or, Lessons on the Whole Bible and Prayer-Book.
By the Rev. CAMPBELL FAIR, D.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

This is the third edition of a very valuable lesson-book. Unlike the ordinary catechisms and manuals, it goes beyond questions and answers on the Church Catechism. It embraces the Catechism, the Collects, Epistles, Gospels, Fasts, Festivals, and Seasons, one hundred and forty hymns, and the Morning and Evening Canticles of the Church. In this way each Sunday brings with it some lessons on all these subjects. The idea is a good one, and appears to be well carried out as far as we have examined the book. It has in addition an excellent glossary of ecclesiastical terms. We should certainly pronounce that a person who can pass an examination in this lesson-book is "sufficiently instructed."

Pathways to our Church. By the Rev. GEORGE W. SHINN, D.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

An easily understood little manual, pointing out the claims of the Church, and what those who join it are called upon to believe. It is rather too apologetic, and not definite enough, arising from the endeavor to make the pathway easy to the Church. Still, by reason of that very indefiniteness, it will disarm prejudice.

Pamphlets, Tractates, Sermons, etc.

Sanitary Embombtment: The Ideal Disposition of the Dead. By the Rev. CHARLES R. TREAT. Reprinted from the Sanitarium, December, 1889.

Advocates the building of a huge mausoleum for the dead of each city. The pictures make the idea look attractive, but in reality it is a rather ghastly idea. It is, moreover, encouraging the Pagan idea so prevalent among all classes of Americans, of embalmment. The real remedy for the pollution arising from overcrowded cemeteries lies in inculcating the Christian idea of burying, and insuring the rapid decomposition

of the body. What is required is to do away with leaden, hard-wood coffins, with the meaningless shell of pine wood in which the bedecked coffin is in this country enclosed, and to revert to the method of "earth to earth," of committing the body to Mother Earth, who, if not hindered by the interposition of more or less imperishable coffins, will do her work quickly and sweetly. The whole question of our funeral rites needs reform, needs de-Paganizing and Christianizing.

The Great Commission : A Plea for Foreign Missions. Prize Essay. By the Rev. THOMAS BAKER. Lowell: O. W. Hill. 1890.

This is the Prize Essay under the bequest of Elizabeth Clarkson Gay in 1885 to the General Theological Seminary, N. Y., for the best essay on foreign missions. It is rather heavy reading; but we suppose this is inevitable when an appeal to the reason is made on behalf of foreign missions. Many useful facts relating to missions and to their progress in heathen lands are given. The great bar to all progress lies, not among the heathen, but among the so-called Christians who rend the unity of the Church to pieces. The curse which such a Christianity is going to inflict on the heathen world is something appalling in its magnitude. We are cursed in America by the existence of over two hundred sects. If we are going to establish branches of these two hundred sects in China and Africa, where is the Christianity to come in? We are even now at this early date bewildering the heathen we go to convert, and by our rivalries present the spectacle rather of hucksters than of evangelists. The material and moral blessings which we take to the heathen, the discussion of which forms a part of Mr. Baker's essay, are certainly blessings in disguise. Protestant Christians in these latter days look upon missions as opening avenues of trade. Not thus did the apostles and missionaries of old look upon their holy vocation; and not until this trading spirit is eradicated, and men go out, not to convey material and moral blessings, but to give Spiritual Life to perishing souls, and by the channels ordained of God, will the missionary be a term of honor, instead of awakening an amused smile among men of the world. Poverty is the first requisite for a missionary, who should go, not to implant English or American ideas, manners, and customs, but to teach the ignorant how to pray, and the meaning of the petition in the one Prayer of Divine Command, "Give us this day our daily bread." Nor are we great believers in the mere mechanical distribution of the Written Word. Scriptures are given for our edification; that is, for building up the Christian character. A building presupposes a foundation, the foundation being the knowledge of the saving truths concerning JESUS CHRIST and the mission of the HOLY GHOST. Missionaries misconceive their high vocation when they attempt to naturalize the heathen; they

ought rather to become one of their nation. Their vocation is to Christianize and to convey the "Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the natives and peoples." That is the Great Commission. All else is but the fringe of the question.

Sound Doctrine and Christian Ritual. By H. K. LEWIS. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

We have here a pamphlet the utility of which it would require the most ingeniously charitable to discover. Sound doctrine and Christian ritual are grave and weighty subjects ; and when a person feels called upon to give to the world his opinions thereon, we consider he is guilty of gross impertinence to the reading public if his pages contain nothing whatever pertinent to the subject. This pamphlet reminds us irresistibly of a book we once bought, entitled *The History of the United States*. On opening its pages, we found it dealt only with the history of some borough within the State of Rhode Island. It is as hard to criticise the contents of an empty nut as the contents of this pamphlet. In the little that it contains we discern a contempt for theology, and for all students of theology, be they the Fathers or modern divines, and an abysmal ignorance of the Athanasian Creed. It is not strange, therefore, that amid this dry dust we have been unable to find a single point of doctrine brought forward, or even an opinion of Mr. Lewis as to what Christian doctrine is. The nearest approach to solid ground is the statement that S. Paul was not a theologian. We see the smile on our readers' faces ; but such is the assertion on page 24. It is rather an unlucky shot to pick out one of the two greatest theologians of the Bible as not being a theologian at all. Might we venture to ask Mr. H. K. Lewis if he has ever read the Epistles of S. Paul?

Under the heading of "Christian Ritual" we do come across many texts bearing on *Doctrine* (perhaps inserted there by mistake of the printers), and at the end of those bearing on Holy Baptism and Holy Communion, we have this extraordinary statement : —

What was material and related to the senses in the early observance both of Baptism and the Communion, was completely abrogated when the dispensation of the SPIRIT was fully established. The shadows fled away.

Can absurdity go farther? What has been "material and related to the senses" has never been anything else, as far as the Gospel sacraments are concerned, than water, bread, and wine. When were they done away with? Mr. Lewis talks about shadows fleeing away, when it is the substance he disposes of, — leaving nothing but the shadows, if so much. The remaining part of this so-called Christian ritual consists of texts from the Bible arbitrarily placed under the meaningless

headings of "Performance of Divine Service" (which appears to be limited to feet-washing), "The Rites of Hospitality," "The Ornaments Rubric," — which is taken to mean the ornaments of women in the congregation (we are not joking; the texts selected are Prov. iv. 7-9, Prov. xxv. 12, Is. xl ix. 18, 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4, 5), — "Vestments," and "Christian Ritual according to the Apostle James."

In parting company with Mr. H. K. Lewis, we feel a languid curiosity as to the sect to which he belongs. He is not a Churchman, since he speaks of the Episcopal Church of England. Perhaps, since he so insists upon feet-washing, he is a member of a ritualistic sect of the Adventists, who, we believe, with the Pope and the House of Austria share the honor of maintaining this ancient custom. To whatever denomination he belongs, we earnestly hope that he will devote a few years to the study of the New Testament before he again inflicts himself on a forbearing public.

Historical Discourse delivered on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of Christ Church, St. Louis. By the Rev. MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, D.D.

The title is sufficiently explanatory of the matter; and as far as outward tests can be applied, the American Church seems, judging by this discourse, to have prospered in St. Louis.

Giving in One's Lifetime. By the Rev. GEORGE WARNER NICHOLS, D.D. Bridgeport, Conn.: The Marigold Printing Company.

Enforcing the duty of a Christian man being the administrator of his own alms. Dr. Nichols has carried out the golden rule of "doing as you preach," and has himself made generous gifts. We regret, however, that he was persuaded, contrary to his own right convictions, to publish abroad his gifts. There is a word of the MASTER which is especially needed in these days, enjoining that "thine alms be in secret."

Which? One Church or Many? By W. K. MARSHALL, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with Introduction by DAVID JAMES BURRELL, D.D., of the Presbyterian Church. Minneapolis, Minn.: T. J. Morrow.

A plea in an unexpected quarter for unity. The writer owns that our LORD prayed for a *visible* unity, that the Church must be a *visible* body, that S. Paul rebuked sectarianism, and that the unity the Apostle to the Gentiles enforced was "*external and organic, which was the expression of the internal and spiritual,*" p. 13. Our writer even quotes the Fathers in favor of such a unity, and goes on to show that the heathen world can never be Christianized by the present divided Christianity; but after this good beginning he goes on to argue in favor, not of "organic unity," but of a "federation." Now, a federa-

tion of the Protestant sects, as we have before pointed out, would be a grand thing ; but in such a federation he must leave out of all account what he considers one of those bodies, the American Church. She never could consent for one minute to such a federation as he sketches out.

1. No union can ever be secured that involves the absorption of all Protestant bodies into any one Church organization, though it is probable that a few existing Churches will have to modify to some extent their present systems.
2. No union can ever be expected that does not recognize the right of every Christian to a seat at the **LORD'S** table, wherever and by whomsoever that table may be spread.
3. No union can be hoped for that does not recognize the right of all Christians to their private judgment, and full liberty of conscience, in all things pertaining to religion.
4. No union will ever be consummated that does not recognize the validity of the ordination of the ministry in all orthodox bodies, and the validity of the Sacrament as administered by them.

He gives apt quotations from Irenæus and S. Cyprian, showing that those Fathers taught an organic unity, but he stops short in his quotations ; why did he not go farther and give us the test by which a body of believers were known to be in the Church or not?

Irenæus. The Apostolical succession.

S. Cyprian. No bishop, no Church.

Ignatius. Do nothing without the bishop and priests. Reverence the Bishop as JESUS CHRIST, the priests as the Sanhedrim of GOD, the deacons as a commandment of JESUS CHRIST.

The motto of Primitive Christianity is, Where the Bishop is, there is organic visible unity, and nowhere else. We are glad, however, to see any signs of unity, even if it be an agglomeration of all the Protestant bodies. We honestly fear that such an agglomeration or federation is impossible, because there can be no federation without obedience to some central authority ; and the moment that obedience is yielded, then private judgment is given up, and when private judgment is given up, Protestantism has lost its *raison d'être*.

The Prodigal Son. CHRIST'S Parable of Mercy. By Rev. WALTER C. WHITAKER. Jacksonville, Fla.: The Church Year Publishing Company.

This is the fourth of the admirable "Church Year Series." It consists of four sermons dealing with the Sin, the Repentance, the Forgiveness, and the Brother of the Prodigal Son. The sermons do not go very deeply into the Parable, but they sufficiently emphasize the great need of reconciliation to God. They will do much good among the great mass of indifferent people, to be found within and without the Church Sunday by Sunday ; and for such general distribution we recommend them.

parish Tracts.

The Editor will be grateful to any one sending him new tracts or tracts that have been found of practical benefit.

ON A CHANGE OF HEART.

A Change of Heart. By Rev. A. W. SNYDER. 50 cents a hundred. Y. C. Co.¹

Showing that a change of heart means a radical change of affections, desires, and purposes, and not "getting religion" by some sudden experience. Useful to educate new-comers.

ON CHURCH FINANCE.

The Laborer and His Hire. By D. R. A. 50 cents a hundred. I. C. T.¹

Pleading especially for the due support of the Irish clergy, but applicable with a little modification of its phraseology to this continent.

ON THE CHURCH SERVICES.

The Church's Worship and Congregational Worship. By C. M. B. 50 cents a hundred. I. C. T.

Excellent for distribution in fashionable city congregations. It is an earnest plea for audible responses, not only for the sake of the souls of the congregation, but also for that of the priest. There is nothing that saps the spiritual life and the bodily energies of a conscientious priest so speedily as a dumb congregation.

On Going to Church. By L. F. L. 50 cents a hundred. I. C. T.

A well-worded, forcible plea on the duty of public worship, and proving the example therein of CHRIST, His Apostles, and the Primitive Church. In conclusion it deals firmly with that lying excuse of "saying my prayers at home."

Scriptural Authority for a Fixed Form of Prayer. By the Rev. GEORGE T. STOKES. 40 cents a dozen. I. C. T.

Examines what the Bible teaching on this point is. Many Churchmen foolishly concede the point of the impugnableness of the Church's

¹ For the sake of abbreviation, Y. C. Co. stands for the Young Churchman Company, Milwaukee, Wis., and I. C. T. for Irish Church Tracts, published by J. Charles and Son, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin, Ireland.

ways, that a form of prayer is not of Scriptural authority. It would, on the contrary, be hard to prove the use of any other form of prayer in the Bible. This tract goes into the question very fully and carefully, and to even a prejudiced mind ought to be conclusive on the point.

ON PRAYERS.

The Dear Old Prayer. By D. E. T. 50 cents a hundred. I. C. T.

It seems incredible that any Christians should have sunk so low as to require an invitation to use the Prayer of Him after whom they are called. Every parish priest, however, knows that such people are found in an increasing number everywhere nowadays. It is therefore time that the Church should for her LORD's sake urge on all the use of the Divine Prayer. The writer also shows how it is the model of all Christian prayer.

Piety and Prayers. By the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF CHICAGO. 50 cents a hundred. Y. C. Co.

Meets the argument so frequently heard among non-Churchmen that the ministers of the denominations are more pious than the clergy. The Bishop shows how the clergy are trained to think it is GOD they are addressing, and not man. Solemnity and reverence will be in that case the result, rather than an unctuous manner or an hysterical emotion. It is kindly but forcibly put, and forms an excellent tract.

ON WESLEYANISM AND METHODISM.

Wesley and Modern Methodism. London : 8 cents apiece. S. P. C. K. New York : E. and J. B. Young and Company.

If Methodism had any logic in it, it would have been dead long ago. This is another of those tracts of which so many have been published, condemning Wesleyanism and its followers out of the mouth of John Wesley himself. Logically they are irrefutable; the more widely such tracts are scattered the better. They have done immense good in England, where Methodism is losing ground all along the line; they ought to be more extensively used in this country. The only objection against this tract is its price.

John Wesley's Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England. \$1.00 a hundred. Rev. CHARLES MARKS, Saint Clair, Schuylkill County, Pa.

This is a reprint, without any comment, and therefore all the more telling, of John Wesley's reasons as printed by him in 1758.

The Music of the Church.

THE S. CECILIA MOVEMENT IN CHURCH MUSIC.

A BRIEF announcement in one of the New York City daily papers says that the Twelfth General Convention of the American S. Cecilia Society will be held in that city on August 5 and 6. The general public will pay no heed to this quiet notice ; but all who are anxious to see the quality of Church music improved will regard it with much interest.

The S. Cecilia movement began in 1853, the originating cause being Dr. Proske, canon of the Cathedral at Ratisbon. In that year he began the publication in score of the manuscripts of the Papal choir, including many of the best compositions of Palestrina, Orlandus Lassus, and others of the famous sixteenth-century Church composers. Dr. Franz Witt, a Bavarian priest and choir-master, and a pupil of Dr. Proske, wrote a series of letters calling attention to the low state of Church music in the (Roman) Catholic Churches of Lower Bavaria ; and in 1868 he founded the first S. Cecilia Society. In 1870 the Society obtained the formal sanction of the Pope, and in a very short time it numbered upward of ten thousand members, and had spread throughout all Germany. In 1874 the American Society was established ; in 1876 the Dutch Society ; in 1878 the Irish Society ; and since then branches have been established in Belgium, France, Spain, Austria, and Italy. An immense literature of music has been provided. Masses in one, two, three, and four parts, motets, hymns, and litanies have been composed, and twenty-four periodicals in different countries and languages are actively engaged in pushing the reform.

The Society makes a broad distinction between music which is performed for its own sake and that which is to accompany Divine worship. In 1884 an important decision of the Roman Congregation of Rites was promulgated, in which we find some prohibitions which ought to be enforced in every Christian Church throughout the world. Here are some extracts which may be read with profit : —

I. 1. The figured vocal music which is authorized by the Church is that only whose grave and pious strains are suited to the house of the LORD, to the Divine praises, and which, by following the meaning of the Sacred Word, help to excite the faithful to devotion.

2. The figured music for the organ must answer to the flowing, harmonious, and grave character of this instrument. Instrumental accompaniments ought generally to give a support to the voice, and not to crush it with its din. The interludes on the organ or by the orchestra should always correspond with the serious tone of the sacred liturgy.

II. 5. All kinds of vocal music composed upon theatrical or profane themes or selections are expressly forbidden in church, as well as music of a too light or too sensuous style, such as gabalette or cavalette, or recitatives of a theatrical nature. Solos, duets, and trios are permitted, provided they have the character of sacred music, and are part of the consecutive whole of the composition.

III. 11. It is stringently forbidden to play in church even the minutest portion of theatrical or operatic selections, of all dances whatsoever, and of profane pieces; for example, national hymns, popular airs, love and comic songs, ballads, etc.

13. Improvisation, a fantasia on the organ, is forbidden to those who cannot do it fittingly; that is, in a manner which respects not only the rules of art, but also the piety and recollection of the faithful.

If some such regulations as these were enforced in our churches, we would not be so often shocked and scandalized during Divine service by inappropriate and inefficient music.

The S. Cecilians endeavor to carry out into practice the spirit of these regulations. They do not intend or advocate going back to the Gregorian chant, as some, both in the Roman Church and our own, have desired. The S. Cecilian movement employs harmony, counterpoint, fugue, imitation, and all the other resources of the art of music. It adds the instrumental accompaniment, whether of organ or orchestra, or both; but it firmly eschews all individual display, all sensuous or sensational solos, or dramatic effects, and rigidly represses all that might in any way excite in the hearer any feeling or sentiment antagonistic to the spirit of worship. In other words, the Cecilian music is essentially an exposition of the spirit of the text.

Since the reform began, composers have been prolific in producing music embodying the principles of the Society. Chief among these is Dr. Franz Witt, who has produced many specimens of fine compositions; and it may be mentioned that Grell's Mass, recently performed in public concert in New York, is constructed on the same general principles.

It is no question of Churchmanship that enters into this matter. All Churches feel or should feel the need of the reform. When, as is the actual fact, we may hear a piece of music sung in the theatre on Saturday night, and the same music with different words in the church on Sunday morning, it would certainly seem time for a warning voice to be raised. The Cecilians have raised this voice in their own Church, with good results. It would be well if our own Church musicians should co-operate with this Society and endeavor to put into practice for our own liturgic worship the same principles that actuate this Society.

THE CHOIRS OF NEW YORK CITY.

In the list of seventy-four Churches in, New York City, given in the Church Almanac for 1890, one — the Church of the Archangel — is put down as having no choir. Of the remaining seventy-three, not more than thirty-three have surpliced choirs; twenty-one have a chorus choir,

and thirteen a quartet and chorus. Five have a quartet only, and one has a double quartet and chorus. There was a time within the memory of those who are still young when the quartet was the fashionable choir in the Church ; a surpliced choir of boys and men was looked upon as an extreme mark of advanced churchmanship. Now, however, it indicates nothing of the kind. Instances are numerous of mixed adult choirs being abolished and vested choirs substituted ; but there are exceedingly rare cases of the reverse process. The present writer does not know of a single one.

There must be strong reasons for this tendency toward surpliced choirs. It is not, as some have supposed, that a woman's voice must not be heard in Church. Every musician knows that there are qualities in a woman's voice, when well and properly trained, that no voice of a boy can ever equal, no matter how talented he may be. There is a warmth and an intensity in the voice of the woman which is absent from that of the boy ; and some have given this fact as an argument in favor of boys, for, say they, the music of the Church does not require the warmth and intensity of the adult female voice, and the cold and correct boy's voice is more appropriate. But why, then, employ the adult male voice, wherein is also found an equal degree of warmth and intensity ? The reason must be sought elsewhere.

One of the most potent of the reasons which have operated in favor of the vested choir is the idea that all who take part in the service of the Church are numbered among the ministers of religion. The bishop, the priest, and the deacon, each has his distinct office, and so the choir-master, the organist, and the choristers have also their distinct office. The choir, then, being ministers of religion, their place is in the chancel or choir, as it is technically and architecturally called. Of course, it would not do that women should occupy such a position, for all that do must be appropriately vested. The " Angelic Choir " of vested female choristers is an innovation which has not yet taken root in this country. There are two Churches in New York — namely, S. Ignatius and S. Mary the Virgin — which do employ adult female voices in addition to the surpliced choir ; but these singers are concealed from the congregation, and are the reverse of little children, being heard and not seen.

The sure decline of the quartet choir is a matter for congratulation. The movement in favor of vested choirs of boys and men is very general ; and the present writer hopes that this choir will be recognized as the only proper one for the Church.

The Rev. S. G. Hatherly is one of the few Englishmen who are priests of the Eastern Church, and in addition to this he is an Oxford Bachelor of

Music. These facts give especial importance to two articles on ecclesiastical music which he has contributed to the *Scottish Review*, — one on "Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music" in the October number of last year, and the other on "Coptic Ecclesiastical Music" in the number for April, 1890. The subject of the Church music of the Oriental nations is one which has been very much neglected by musical historians, even Naumann, the author of the latest history of music, having completely passed it by. The present writer has made some studies of the ritual music of the Russo-Greek Church ; but Mr. Hatherly has exceptional advantages for pursuing the matter. In the Byzantine article he goes considerably into the theory of the Eastern scales, and explains their differences from those in use in the West. He gives also three actual specimens of the liturgical music. In the "Coptic Ecclesiastical Music," after a short historical introduction, Mr. Hatherly takes up the liturgical chants which are sung in the Coptic Church, analyzing them and dividing them into three classes, — the oldest, or Greek portion, which are magnificent melodies of the purest type ; the mediæval, or Coptic portion, which are melodies of very good form, entirely diatonic, but less strict than the Old Greek ; and the modern, or Arabic portion, which are decidedly more sing-songy and freer in all respects. The article contains sixty-eight illustrations in music type, with full descriptions, and the words in English and the original Greek, Coptic, or Arabic, the liturgical formulae being variously in all three languages. If Mr. Hatherly should gather both of these, and such other studies of Eastern music as he might make, into a separate volume, it would possess a permanent and valuable interest.

G. Schirmer, of New York, has recently issued a volume of "Anthems and Motets," edited by Harry Rowe Shelley. It contains settings of most of the canticles of the Church, and a number of hymns in anthem form, many of them by Mr. Shelley himself, some by other American composers, and some adapted from well-known works by Gounod, Mozart, Rheinberger, and others. The purpose of the book is to supply quartet choirs with anthem music, and this purpose is admirably subserved, and for such choirs the book can be highly recommended.

The American Music Company has published on a single leaflet H. W. Parker's splendid tune to the hymn, "Jerusalem, High Tower, thy Glorious Walls." The prosodial and rhythmical difficulties of this hymn have been well overcome ; and both hymn and tune ought to become well known.

The custom of singing short sacred cantatas at choir festivals is constantly growing, and it is a custom which deserves encouragement. There

are many such cantatas, some of which were indeed composed for just such occasions. We recently in this department mentioned the names of some which had been thus sung, and others which were available for such use.

Messrs. James Pott and Co. have recently published in a handsome volume a collection of seventeen hymn-tunes and ten carols, together with one *Kyrie* and one *Sanctus*, composed by the Rev. J. Nevett Steele, formerly rector of Zion Church, Wappinger's Falls, N. Y., but now connected with Trinity Church, New York City. The music is fresh and melodious, and likely to prove attractive.

The Kalendar of Anthems for the Christian Year was unavoidably omitted in the last volume. It is given in this volume in order to make the record complete, which is also continued to Advent. In making the selections, anthems embodying the words of the Collect, Epistle, Gospel, or one of the Lessons have been used; in rare instances parallel passages of Scripture have been utilized. While the Kalendar is by no means complete, it is the most serious attempt yet made toward a complete list of anthems appropriate to each Sunday and holy day in the Christian Year; and personally the writer may say that he has been several years gathering together and selecting the anthems that appear in this list.

ANTHEMS FOR THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

SS. Philip and James, May 1.

In my FATHER's house Cramert.

*Fourth Sunday after Easter, May 4.*Peace I leave with you C. E. Finney.
Grant us Thy peace Mendelssohn.*Fifth Sunday after Easter, May 11.*If we believe that JESUS died Goss.
All go to one place S. S. Wesley.*Ascension Day, May 15.*Thou art gone up on high J. L. Hatton.
Who shall ascend Gray.*Sunday after Ascension, May 18.*King all-glorious Barnby.
The LORD is exalted J. E. West.*Whitsunday, May 25.*If ye love me C. S. Heap, and others.
Let not your heart be troubled H. G. Tremboth.

Monday in Whitsun-week, May 26.

GOD so loved the world Goss, Stainer, and others.

Tuesday in Whitsun-week, May 27.

Ye shall dwell in the land Stainer.

Trinity Sunday, June 1.

Whatsoever is born of GOD H. S. Oakeley.

The LORD is King Gadsby, and others.

And the LORD GOD planted a garden Croston.

First Sunday after Trinity, June 8.

In this was manifested Gladstone's *Philippi*.

And all the people saw Stainer.

S. Barnabas, June 11.

Blessed is the man that feareth the LORD Boyce.

Second Sunday after Trinity, June 15.

The eyes of the LORD are over the righteous . . . Nares, Wood.

Whoso hath this world's goods Calkin.

Third Sunday after Trinity, June 22.

The LORD is righteous Roberts's *Jonah*.

Cast thy burden upon the LORD Mendelssohn's *Elijah*.

Nativity of S. John the Baptist, June 24.

The voice of one crying Garrett.

Prepare ye the way of the LORD Wise.

Listen, O isles Allen.

Fourth Sunday after Trinity, June 29.

The grace of God that bringeth salvation . . . Barnby.

S. Peter's Day, June 29.

Be strong and of good courage Macfarren.

Thou art Peter Palestrina, Mendelssohn.

Fifth Sunday after Trinity, July 6.

Grant, O LORD, we beseech thee Mozart.

Sixth Sunday after Trinity, July 13.

O GOD, who hast prepared Oakeley, and others.

Seventh Sunday after Trinity, July 20.

LORD of all power and might Cluff, and others.

S. James, July 25.

Happy and blest are they Mendelssohn's *S. Paul*.

Eighth Sunday after Trinity, July 27.

As I live, saith the LORD Chipp.

Ninth Sunday after Trinity, August 3.

Grant to us, LORD, we beseech Thee (Collect) . . . J. Barnby.
Blessed is the man that endureth temptation . . . Macfarren.

Festival of the Transfiguration, August 6.

The LORD is great in Zion W. T. Best.
Unto you that fear My name J. F. Bridge.

Tenth Sunday after Trinity, August 10.

How goodly are thy tents, O Israel Ouseley.
There shall a star Mendelssohn.

Eleventh Sunday after Trinity, August 17.

If with your whole hearts Spohr.

S. Bartholomew's Day, August 24.

Arise, O LORD B. Agutter.

Twelfth Sunday after Trinity, August 24.

God said, Behold, I give you Macfarren.
Humble thyself in the sight of the LORD Longhurst.

Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, August 31.

Give ear, O ye heavens Armes.
Almighty and merciful GOD (Collect) Goss.

Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 7.

There is none like unto the GOD of Jeshurun . . . Goss.
O taste and see how gracious the LORD is . . . Goss.

Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 14.

The GOD of heaven J. F. Bridge.
The LORD hath chosen Zion J. F. Bridge.

S. Matthew's Day, September 21.

Blessed be Thou, LORD GOD of Israel Ouseley.
Who commanded the light E. J. Hopkins.

Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 21.

I bow my knee unto the Father J. Barnby.

Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity, September 28.

LORD, we pray Thee (Collect) Roberts.
Like as the hart desireth Novello.

S. Michael and All Angels, September 29.

O everlasting GOD (Collect) Oakeley.
Forever blessed Mendelssohn.
For He shall give His angels charge Mendelssohn and others.

Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity, October 5.

LORD, Thou art GOD (except last movement) . . . Stainer.
There is joy in the presence of the angels of GOD . . . Sullivan's *Prodigal Son.*

Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, October 12.

Grieve not the HOLY SPIRIT of GOD Stainer.

S. Luke the Evangelist, October 18.

Hear my prayer Mendelssohn.
Not only unto Him Mendelssohn, *S. Paul.*

Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, October 19.

GOD so loved the world Stainer, J. H. Clarke, and
others.

Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, October 26.

Grant, we beseech Thee (Collect) Booth, Smart, and others.
Grant us Thy peace Mendelssohn.
Give peace in our time Calcott.

All Saints' Day, November 1.

The souls of the righteous Nares, Macfarren, Elvey,
and others.
I beheld, and lo, a great multitude Elvey, Blow.
What are these? Stainer, Pierson.

Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, November 2.

If we say that we have no sin Calkin.
Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace Williams, S. S. Wesley.

Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, November 9.

O GOD, our refuge and strength (Collect) Oakeley.
Our conversation is in heaven Gilbert.

Twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity, November 16.

Happy is the man that findeth wisdom Prout.
Beloved, now are we the sons of GOD Booth.

Sunday next before Advent, November 23.

Behold, the days come, saith the LORD Woodward, Thorne, and
others.
Behold, He cometh Gilbert.
Unto you that fear My name Bridge.

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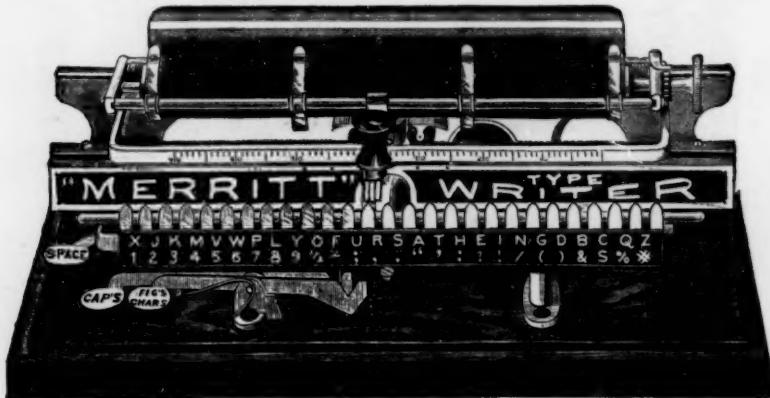
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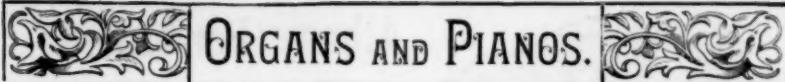
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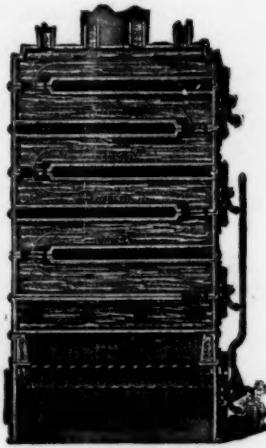
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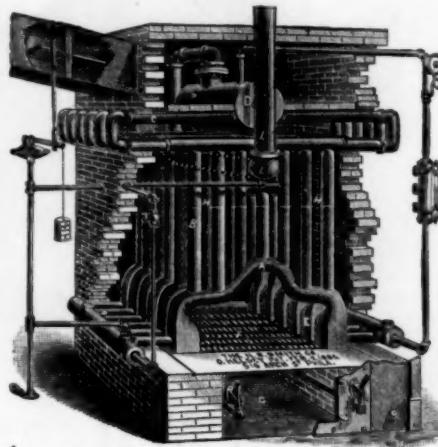
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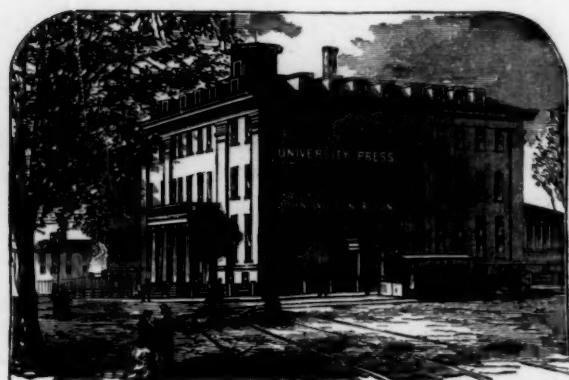
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NATURAL STONE WATER FILTERS

IN USE ALL OVER THE WORLD.



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FINE DECORATED CHINA
AND
GRAY STONEWARE JARS
TO
HOLD THE WATER.

A NATURAL STONE FOR A
FILTERING MEDIUM.

FITTED WITH SEPARATE PATENT
ICE CHAMBERS
TO COOL THE WATER.

As Easily Cleaned as a Water Pitcher.

Open cut shows filter disc used in our filters,
and separate patent ice chambers.



FOR USE IN OFFICES, HOMES, AND SCHOOLS.

For free descriptive price list, address,

GATE CITY STONE FILTER CO.,

J. A. DAVENPORT, MANAGER,

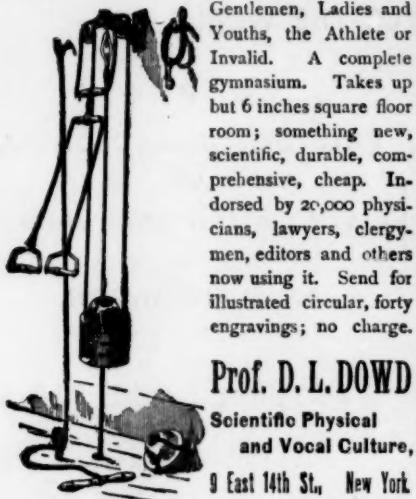
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D. L. Dowd's Health Exerciser

For Brain-Workers and Sedentary People,

Gentlemen, Ladies and Youths, the Athlete or Invalid. A complete gymnasium. Takes up but 6 inches square floor room; something new, scientific, durable, comprehensive, cheap. Indorsed by 20,000 physicians, lawyers, clergymen, editors and others now using it. Send for illustrated circular, forty engravings; no charge.



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Scientific Physical
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is the finest lamp in the world. It gives a pure, soft, brilliant white light of 85 candle power. Purer and brighter than gas light; softer than electric light—more cheerful than either. A Marvelous light from ordinary kerosene.

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A "wonderful lamp" it is indeed. Never needs trimming, never smokes, never breaks chimneys, never "smells of the oil," no sputtering, no climbing of the flame, no annoyance of any kind, and cannot explode. And besides all it gives a clear white light, 10 to 20 times the size and brilliancy of any ordinary house lamp! Finished in either Brass, Nickel, Gold or Antique Bronze. Also

The Gladstone Extension Study Lamp,
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The Gladstone Banquet Lamps.

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GLADSTONE LAMP CO.,
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MARLIN REPEATING RIFLES

MODEL '81 REPEATERS.
MODEL '89 REPEATERS.

THE LATEST. MODEL 1889.

MARLIN SAFETY REPEATING RIFLE

using the 32, 33, and 44 Winchester cartridges, having a

SOLID TOP RECEIVER,
Excluding all dirt or moisture from the lock.

LOADING & EJECTING

from the side, away from the face of the shooter.

Weighing but

6 1/4 POUNDS,

and a model of symmetry and beauty.

Shoots with greater

ACCURACY

than any other. Don't buy until you see the

MARLIN

SAFETY

MODEL,

1889.

MODEL
'81

REPEATERS
40-60 and 45-70 calibres.

LOW TRAJECTORY
STRONG
SHOOTING.

THE

BALLARD

still remains the best shooting rifle in the world.

MARLIN'S DOUBLE ACTION AUTOMATIC EJECTING REVOLVER

In workmanship, finish and accuracy of shooting; second to none.

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**RIFLES, Pistols
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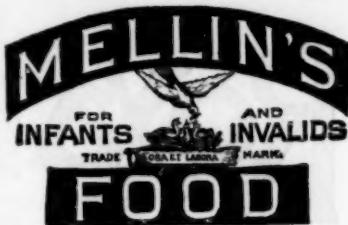


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Nothing like it
quality, prices,
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ever known in
premiums, and

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The only perfect substitute for Mother's Milk. Invaluable in Cholera Infantum and Teething. A pre-digested food for Dyspeptics, Consumptives, Convalescents. Perfect nutrient in all Wasting Diseases. Requires no cooking. Our Book, **The Care and Feeding of Infants**, mailed free.

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Tomato,	Mock Turtle,	Terrapin,
Ox Tail,	Okra or Gumbo,	Macaroni,
Pea,	Green Turtle,	Consommé,
Beef,	Julienne,	Soup and Bouilli,
Vermicelli,	Chicken,	Mullagatawny.

RICH and PERFECTLY SEASONED.

Require only to be heated, and are then ready to serve.

Prepared with great care from only the best materials.

Have enjoyed the highest reputation for more than 32 years.

Send us 20 cents, to help pay express, and receive, prepaid, two sample cans of these Soups, your choice.

TEST FREE

SOLD BY ALL LEADING GROCERS.

J. H. W. HUCKINS & CO.,
Sole Manufacturers, Boston, Mass.



FOOD PRODUCTS.



Royal Baking Powder

The United States Official Investigation

Of Baking Powders, recently made, under authority of Congress, by the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., furnishes the highest authoritative information as to which powder is the best. The Official Report

**Shows the ROYAL to be a
cream of tartar baking pow-
der, superior to all others in
strength and leavening power.**

The Royal Baking Powder is absolutely pure, made from the most wholesome materials, and produces finer flavored, sweeter, lighter, more wholesome and delicious bread, biscuit, cake, pastry, etc., than any other baking powder or leavening agent.

Food raised by it will keep sweet, moist, fresh and palatable longer than when raised by yeast or other baking powders.

Being of greater strength than any other baking powder, it is also the most economical in use.

These great qualities warrant you, if you are not using the Royal Baking Powder, in making a trial of it.



MISCELLANEOUS.

CATARRHAL DEAFNESS—HAY FEVER.

A NEW HOME TREATMENT.

Sufferers are not generally aware that these diseases are contagious, or that they are due to the presence of living parasites in the lining membrane of the nose and eustachian tubes. Microscopic research, however, has proved this to be a fact; and the result of this discovery is that a simple remedy has been formulated whereby catarrh, catarrhal deafness, and hay fever are permanently cured in from one to three simple applications made at home by the patient once in two weeks.

N. B.—This treatment is not a snuff or an ointment; both have been discarded by reputable physicians as injurious. A pamphlet explaining this new treatment is sent free on receipt of stamp to pay postage, by A. H. DIXON & SON, 337 & 339 West King Street, Toronto, Canada.—*Christian Advocate*.

Sufferers from Catarrhal troubles should carefully read the above.

*If you have a
COLD OR COUGH,
acute or leading to
CONSUMPTION,
SCOTT'S
EMULSION
OF PURE COD LIVER OIL
AND
HYPOPHOSPHITES OF LIME AND SODA
IS SURE CURE FOR IT.*

This preparation contains the stimulating properties of the *Hypophosphites* and fine *Norwegian Cod Liver Oil*. Used by physicians all the world over. It is *as palatable as milk*. Three times as efficacious as plain Cod Liver Oil. A perfect Emulsion, better than all others made. For all forms of *Wasting Diseases, Bronchitis, CONSUMPTION,*

Serofula, and as a *Flesh Producer* there is nothing like *SCOTT'S EMULSION*. It is sold by all Druggists. Let no one by profuse explanation or impudent entreaty induce you to accept a substitute.

ESTABLISHED 1830.

COX SONS, BUCKLEY, & CO.

SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON.

8 EAST FIFTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK.



A Constant Supply.

CASSOCKS. SURPLICES. STOLES. BIRETTAS.
BISHOPS' AND COLLEGE ROBES.

Clerical Clothing.

IS OUR GREAT SPECIALTY.

Prices: Suits from \$16.00 upwards.

For general advertisement see 2d page of cover.—Price List (Illustrated) post free.



INSURANCE.

SUMMARY OF THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
New York Life Insurance Co.
WILLIAM H. BEERS, President.

BUSINESS OF 1889.

Premiums	\$24,585,921.10
Interest, Rents, etc.	4,577,345.14
Total Income	\$29,163,266.24
Death-Claims and Endowments	\$6,252,095.50
Dividends, Annuities, and Purchased Insurances	5,869,026.16
Total to Policy-holders	\$12,121,121.66
New Policies Issued	39,499
New Insurance Written	\$151,119,088.00

CONDITION JANUARY 1, 1890.

Assets	\$105,053,600.96
Divisible Surplus, Co's New Standard	7,517,823.28
Tontine Surplus	7,705,053.11
Liabilities, New York State Standard	88,761,058.57
Surplus by State Standard (4 per cent)	15,600,000.00
Policies in Force	150,381
Insurance in Force	\$495,601,970.00

PROGRESS IN 1889.

Increase in Interest	\$303,653.06
Increase in Benefits to Policy-holders	1,148,051.61
Increase in Surplus for Dividends	1,716,849.01
Increase in Premiums	3,458,330.35
Increase in Total Income	3,761,983.41
Increase in Assets	11,573,414.41
Increase in Insurance Written	26,099,357.00
Increase in Insurance in Force	75,715,465.00

RESULTS FOR FORTY-FIVE YEARS FROM 1845 TO 1890.

Total received from Policy-holders	\$223,526,284.49
Paid to Policy-holders and their representatives	\$129,344,058.87
Assets held as security for Policy-holders, January 1, 1890	105,053,600.96
Total amount paid Policy-holders and now held as security for their contracts	\$234,397,659.83
Amount paid and held exceeds amount received	\$10,871,375.34
Interest and Rents exceed Death-losses paid	2,827,812.34

These figures show a growth as marvellous as it has been continuous, and a present strength and volume of business that furnish the most ample guarantees to intending insurers.

SPECIAL ATTENTION IS CALLED TO THE FOLLOWING FACTS.

New York Life Insurance Co.

- 1. The New York Life was the first Company, and for thirty-five years the only Company, to omit from its policies the clause making them void in case of suicide.
- 2. The New York Life was the first Company to recognize the policy-holder's right to paid-up insurance, in case of a discontinuance of premiums, by originating and introducing, in 1860, the first non-forfeiture policies,—the beginning of the modern non-forfeiture system, which has become a part of the insurance statutes of the country. On the present volume of business, the saving to policy-holders, by reason of the non-forfeiture principle, as originated and introduced by the New York Life, is about eight million dollars per year.
- 3. The New York Life issues a greater variety of policies than any other life company, thereby adapting its contracts to the largest number of people. It has lately perfected a Mortuary-Dividend system, under which many of its policies are issued with guaranteed return of all premiums paid, in addition to the face of the policy, in case of death during a specified period.
- 4. The returns on the New York Life's Tontine Policies have been unsurpassed by those of any other company, comparison being made between policies taken at same age and premium rate, and running through the same period of time.
- 5. The policies of the New York Life, as now issued, are notably free from restrictions as to occupation, residence, and travel, and claims are paid upon receipt and approval by the Company of satisfactory proofs of death.

The New York Life Insurance Company has also devised and is offering a plan for Life Insurance at about the cost of Fire Insurance on household effects.

It is a protection for the family that all classes have sought, and is adjusted as to price, amounts, and methods of payments, to conform to every condition of circumstances and of life.

Policies on this plan are issued in amounts from \$1,000 to \$20,000; the insured pays only for what he gets, and gets what he pays for. To those insured for large amounts it may be taken as supplementary insurance, as it is afforded at about one half the regular rate for ordinary life insurance, and the premiums may be paid annually, semi-annually, or quarterly.

If you are struggling with the uncertainties attending a co-operative insurance, or paying the price required for that furnished by the Industrial Companies, here is a method of relief, and the policies are like a Government Bond, payable immediately in the event of death, for the full sum mentioned in the policies.

Information with regard to the various plans of insurance, rates, and actual results of matured policies, can be obtained by addressing the home office of the Company.

346-348 BROADWAY, NEW YORK,

or any of its General Agents.

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ARCHIBALD H. WELCH, 2d Vice-President.

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BAKING POWDER

Absolutely Pure.

This powder never varies. A marvel of purity, strength, and wholesomeness. More economical than the ordinary kinds, and cannot be sold in competition with the multitude of low test, short weight alum or phosphate powders. Sold only in cans. ROYAL BAKING Powder Co., no 6 Wall Street, New York.

GOLD MEDAL, PARIS, 1878.



W. BAKER & CO.'S Breakfast Cocoa

*Is Absolutely Pure
and it is Soluble.*

No Chemicals

are used in its preparation. It has more than three times the strength of Cocoa mixed with Starch, Arrowroot or Sugar, and is therefore far more economical, costing less than one cent a cup. It is delicious, nourishing, strengthening, EASILY DIGESTED, and admirably adapted for invalids as well as for persons in health.

Sold by Grocers everywhere.

W. BAKER & CO., DORCHESTER, MASS.

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Bankers and Traders Accident Association.

Fletcher H. Bangs, Pres.

Oliver F. Berry, Treas.

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Every Sensible Man carries an Accident Policy.

A \$5,000 Accident Policy for \$12 a year. A clean and liberal Policy. No technicalities. Ample reserve fund. Prompt and full payment of claims guaranteed. Send for Prospectus.

